



L. Thompson

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
A MEMORIAL

*A DESCRIPTION OF THE DEDICATION OF THE MONUMENT
ERECTED TO HIS MEMORY AT BRANDON, VERMONT,
ON THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF
HIS BIRTH, AND THE PROCEEDINGS
CONNECTED THEREWITH*

*TOGETHER WITH OTHER MATTERS
AND THINGS PERTAINING TO
HIS LIFE AND
CHARACTER*

COMPILED AND EDITED BY EDWARD S. MARSH



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PREFACE.

In the preparation of this memorial, which was a labor of love, the editor has received valuable assistance from institutions and individuals, and to them he takes this occasion to render his acknowledgements and express his thanks. To the following in particular he desires to acknowledge his obligations for favors received:

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Brandon, Vt., January 18, 1914.

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PRELIMINARY.

At the annual banquet of the Dunmore Hose Company, held at the Brandon Inn on the evening of March 14, 1912, Rev. C. W. Turner of Brandon delivered an address on Stephen A. Douglas, inspired by the fact that Douglas was born in Brandon April 23, 1813. At a subsequent meeting a committee was appointed to take steps toward the appropriate observance of the approaching centenary, consisting of Ex-Gov. E. J. Ormsbee, chairman, A. G. Farr, Rev. C. W. Turner and F. H. Farrington. At the annual town meeting held March 4, 1913, \$1000 was appropriated for the expenses of the proposed celebration. At a special town meeting held April 15, 1913, the above named committee were confirmed in office, and C. M. Winslow was added to the committee, and the selectmen of the town, W. B. Avery, F. L. Smith and F. E. Kingsley, were made a part of the committee *ex officio*.

Mr. Albert G. Farr presented to the town a monument in memory of Stephen A. Douglas, and it was erected on Grove Street, nearly in front of the cottage in which Douglas was born. The town, through its committee, graded and seeded the adjacent ground, changed the course of the road in front of the Baptist Church, and placed the monument in position. The space in which the monument stands is now known as "Douglas Green."

After a deal of correspondence and consideration, the committee secured Hon. James Hamilton Lewis, U. S. Senator from Illinois, as the principal speaker at the unveiling of the monument, a manifestly appropriate selection, Senator Lewis being of the same political faith as Douglas, and representing the same state in the Senate.

For various reasons, it was found impracticable to hold the exercises on the exact anniversary of the birthday, and they finally took place June 27, 1913.

ACCOUNT OF THE EXERCISES.

The public and business buildings of the village, and the principal streets, were beautifully and lavishly decorated with flags, banners and bunting by Metzger Bros., of Rutland, while the private householders hung out their flags. The village never glowed with such a mass of patriotic color before. The attendance was estimated at 2500 people, including many from out of town. The speakers' stand was erected in front of the Baptist Church, close to the Douglas cottage and the monument. Music was furnished by the Brandon Concert Band, the band-stand being located in the park near by. Besides the speakers, Ex-Gov. John A. Mead, and other more or less distinguished men, occupied seats on the speakers' stand. Ex-Gov. E. J. Ormsbee, chairman of the committee, presided and introduced the speakers. The weather was exceedingly hot, but otherwise all that could be desired. It had been hoped and expected that Robert M. Douglas and Robert T. Lincoln, sons respectively of Douglas and Lincoln, the great rivals of 1858 and 1860, would be present, but both were prevented by ill health. A meeting of these men, on such an occasion, would have been of great historic interest.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE UNVEILING OF THE MONUMENT.

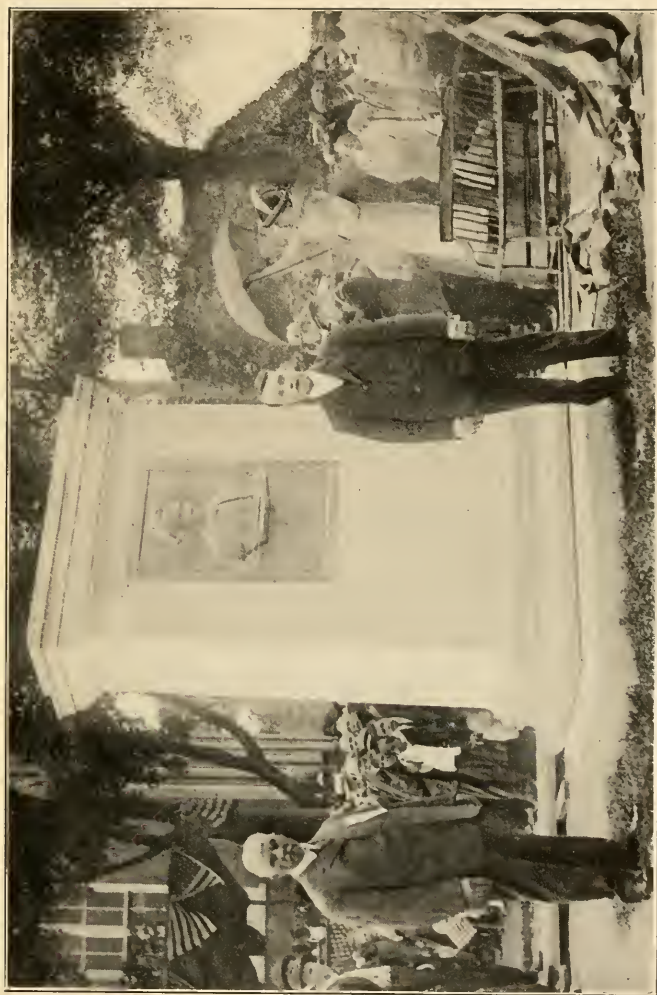
GOVERNOR ORMSBEE:

Ladies and Gentleman, and that includes, as a matter of course, all of our invited guests, we don't need to enlarge. We will now proceed to the exercises of the occasion. It has been said, and I adopt the saying, that Stephen A. Douglas was the greatest political leader that Vermont ever produced. I take that as my text,—but I am not going to follow it by a sermon; others will do that. We will now proceed to unveil this beautiful monument or tablet presented to the Town of Brandon by her excellent friend, Albert G. Farr, of Chicago, not only is it beautiful but appropriate and splendid in character, design and finish, as I expect you will say when you see it.

The monument will be unveiled by Honorable Martin Francis Douglas, grandson of Stephen A. Douglas, whose memory we celebrate today, and that unveiling will proceed now.

(Monument unveiled by Martin Francis Douglas.)

(Prolonged applause.)



(From Photo by C. W. Turner.)

THE MONUMENT UNVEILED.

F. H. FARRINGTON on left, MARTIN F. DOUGLAS on right.

GOVERNOR ORMSBEE:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I now introduce to you Honorable Allen M. Fletcher, the Governor of Vermont. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR ORMSBEE:

Your committee had thought to engage a speaker for this occasion, and sought to engage one of no ordinary or limited or sectional character. We wanted to secure, if possible, a good Democrat, for there are good Democrats, we have to admit that fact, even in Vermont. We wanted to secure at the same time a man of national fame, not confined to one school district at least, but a man known far and wide, as is the name of the man whose memory we meet to celebrate today, Stephen A. Douglas, and we flatter ourselves that we have succeeded in finding such a man, not only a Democrat, but a man of national fame, a man fit and suitable for this occasion, and this is the Honorable James Hamilton Lewis, United States Senator from the State of Illinois. Ladies and Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Mr. Lewis.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR LEWIS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I want to thank your prominent townsman, your former Governor, for his very kind reference to me, but before I begin to talk to you, there are some things that must be straightened out. The Governor first would tell you that I am here as a Democrat, and calls me a "good Democrat," and then pours out water for me to drink. Now I know what the Governor meant when he referred to good Democrats and poured water for me. He meant that only good Democrats drink water. (Laughter.)

I appreciate Governor Ormsbee's expression that the person who should be here upon this occasion ought to be a man free from such a thing as mere partisanship. Well, let me tell you that it is very difficult in these days for any man living in the zone where I live to ascertain exactly what it is that marks the line of distinction between the party Democrat and the party Republican.

Ladies and gentlemen, for myself I find a pleasure in this occasion. I pray I may be indulged by you with some little reference to myself

that you may understand why I feel a degree of keen pleasure in being here and that you may understand, though physically ill and exceedingly so, I rescued myself sufficiently in order that I might be here. About fifteen years ago I was living in the State of Washington, on the northwest coast of this country; I was born in Virginia, reared in Georgia and schooled in Virginia, and went to the Northwest with a view of being, if I could, a lawyer. Subsequent days followed in my career, and I became the Congressman-at-large from the State of Washington, serving at Washington City, with the usual lack of knowledge which youth possesses, and a want of judgment that inexperience always gives.

One of the very best gifts in my life was to know a distinguished gentleman, of great wisdom, of great power intellectually, when on a visit to the University where I had been a scholar,—I refer to the late Senator Morrill of Vermont. We became friends. We afterwards knew each other when I was a new member of Congress. His excellent counsels were always at my command. I never allowed an opportunity to pass me, when I needed counsel of anyone, that I did not feel free to seek that distinguished and experienced source. So well known was my feeling toward Senator Morrill that when he passed away I was honored by being named as one of the committee to bring his remains back to splendid old Vermont, where today they are sleeping in the honored memory of his countrymen. I came to Montpelier, and there upon the first visit I had ever made to this State, was honored with the acquaintance of the Legislature then in session, and met many of your eminent citizens, the memory of which has remained with me during these years, much to my delight and pleasure.

When I moved to Chicago to take up my home, one of the first acquaintances that came to me as a friend was a distinguished citizen of Vermont, who remained my guide, counsellor and friend; and when your present distinguished Senator, Senator Dillingham, presented the request of your honorable committee that I honor myself by coming here to officiate upon this occasion, I very freely told him that I had never had the opportunity in the past to cultivate the acquaintance of or know the people of Vermont, as I would delight to do, and because of that I would have you know, ladies and gentle-

men, I chose to come here for the personal gratification it affords me. Added to this was, of course, that other thought: I am from Illinois, as has been referred to by your distinguished citizen, and come to you from the public councils of the nation. When an invitation comes to any man from Illinois to give him an opportunity to express some word of praise and admiration for the great character who did so much to immortalize that State, such person so honored with such chance could not well, indeed, decline it. I, therefore, owe to Illinois, that in her behalf I should come where I might be permitted to speak of her late distinguished and devoted son; and that the privilege was afforded me here in the State where he was born, made doubly gratifying the opportunity and enhanced the pleasure I enjoy in its fulfilment.

I join, indeed, with your committee, in my praise for the undertaking which greets my eye; beautiful in design, chaste in its construction, modest in its appearance, yet shapely in strength, like the one whom it represents. Gentlemen of Vermont, gentlemen of this beautiful town, I would that you allow me to say to you, that you deserve well because you have paused from the arduous labors of your existence, from the trying cares of your occupations to contemplate some duty you owe to yourselves. It may be, gentlemen of Vermont, nothing but an experience to you today, that afterwards you might allude to as a passing picture upon the panorama of your life's experience, that at Brandon on the 27th day of June, in 1913, you were present when there was an unveiling, in the presence of a distinguished assemblage of men and women, of a monument to the distinguished son of Vermont. And there, gentlemen, you may be content to leave your observation. But I would have you go farther. I speak to you who may be fathers: there isn't a little boy in this assemblage, who, if forced in after days to struggle against the same vicissitudes in life, which were the history of this distinguished man in his childhood, and who may wish to be remembered when dead, in the affections of his countrymen, as is this distinguished man, that the occasion will not animate. This will inspire the youth to hope for the future for themselves and do much to deny that creed which is now gaining such ground throughout our whole land, that only wealth can achieve on the one hand, or power of policies attain success on the other. You young men likewise who aspire to the confidence

of your neighbors; you who dream of occupying the positions of trust now held by those older than yourselves; you, likewise, may take the stimulus of this occasion and apply its significance, and feel with a sense of gratification that your fellow citizens around you may find something in your life to approve and that out of the fullness of time they may speak an appreciation of the things you do, and praise of the life you have lived, if you only confine it to such objects as are virtuous, as may command the love of your fellows, and gain the admiration of your countrymen.

You women, who find it agreeable to grace this occasion: this means much for you; whether it shall mean your boy, your brother, the man of your house who lives today, or those who shall come after you—many a mother in the land may point to those monuments which decorate hallowed spots in this beautiful State, as a continuing incentive to the ambitious youth and a hope to the child for whom at night she offers prayers unto God.

If there be no other mission that the people of this community have performed in erecting this monument before the eyes of this multitude, this alone will be sufficient,—that it offers encouragement to living mankind to remember that in splendid deeds and in a glorious life, whether the origin be humble or poor, exalted or great, there will be left in the memory of mankind some appreciation of a true nature, of a true man, and some gratitude, at least, in the hearts of his countrymen for his noble sacrifices for patriotism and for country.

Gentlemen of Vermont, it is, of course, a truism to say that the object of this gathering is not to pay tribute to a mere person. The citizen of my town (Chicago), a native of your own, who presented this monument out of respect to one of your own, did not expect that it should be received and planted before your eyes merely as some unfading memorial of the present time to one of God's atoms, a man. It was reared that it might suggest to you some events of the life of a man. It appears in its glory before you that it may speak and sound the greatness of a life that was lived in order to accomplish something for other men.

You who have travelled in classic Greece, recall that outside of Athens at what is known as the Seventh Pillar, there is inscribed the celebrated expression of the ancient Pericles, proclaiming that a land

without history is a country without heroes. Emerson, having occasion to allude to this inscription, said that in Republican America it would be reversed, and the expression would be that a land without heroes would be a country without history. Because in America there is no spot that is not chastened by sacrifices made either for liberty of men or for the glory of mankind. There is no community where there are no heroes in the memory of the generation which exists, those who brought to their lives the glory of sacrifice on the battlefield or splendor of devotion to citizenship.

Then, my fellow citizens, I come not here today to recount the well-known story of the early life of the hero of this occasion; I am not to speak of the humble beginning in the humble residence that sits there opposite our doings today; nor will I speak of the details of the life of one who became immortal in our country. I rather choose to speak to you of the things for which he stood. I rather avail myself of this precious hour to remind you, my fellow countrymen, of some of the things which, now, in the calm light of reflection, we can correctly judge, and thus remedy the misjudgment and error of our people against a great American.

It is to be regretted, gentlemen of Vermont, that, as a matter of experience, while a man lives, justice is hardly his if his life is active. While a man endures in the performance of public affairs he is judged by contemporaries either in a spirit of party rancor on the one hand, or an over-zealous enthusiasm on the other.

Joshua Reynolds, at the close of one of his greatest lectures, before the National Geographical Society in London, referring to great painters, said: "The Present is ever at war with the Future. The man who hopes to achieve the fame of the To-Morrow must abandon the hope of fame of the Present, and he who would allure to himself the mere prize of To-day, must remember he will forfeit the calm judgment in the great coming days in which he would love to be both loved and praised."

Stephen A. Douglas today is an example of the truth of this dictum of the distinguished artist. Then we ask ourselves, what were the particular things which this citizen of America stood for which occasioned him either to be admired by some or condemned by others?

What were the particular theories of government which he sought to advance?

Were you to have assembled here in Vermont 50 years ago, there would have arisen in your midst, schooled and learned as they were, men to speak of the heroes of the time and political matters of the day. From these you would have heard the statement that Stephen A. Douglas committed his offence against government because he stood for the doctrine called state's rights as against national unity. You would have been told that the doctrine for which Douglas stood was in direct variance with the best theories of government; that it was against the principle of the liberty of men; and you would have known that there were at that time in this country, splendid citizenship and noble patriotism that could not possibly agree with the doctrines of Douglas. But here in this hour, when political rancor is stilled, and partisan politics is dead, when peace has settled upon us and home life has been renewed in all parts of this great republic and the genuine spirit of citizenship beats in the heart of every true American, men may view their fellow men without prejudice on the one hand or undue praise on the other, and in such hour the real truth may be spoken, and history may record that justice is to be done a fellow citizen.

It is because of that consciousness on my part that I make free to revive to the minds of my fellow citizens what was the real fundamental political issue at that time.

You will recall, gentlemen of New England, that from your homes, your sons went to the great West with a view to settling it and establishing there liberty and domestic institutions. Here in New England originated a theory of government which can be described as Home Rule. So, when your forefathers founded Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, and Vermont, there originated in Vermont the germ of the doctrine of Home Rule, and it has grown to such an extent that she would not today abandon for any consideration her town government, her doctrine of Home Rule, by which her citizens may, by their ballot, make their own government.

This man, Stephen A. Douglas, came from you.

Your ancestors had learned of the government in Greece; they had read and knew of the Israelitish government. The idea of Home

Rule was so strong that tribes went to war with each other in order to vindicate their positions. When Greece had reached her highest point of civilization it was when Athens, Syracuse, Corinth and Sparta in themselves were countries, small republics, local governments, with the right to manage their own affairs and be sovereign within their own domains. They were opposed to the idea of centralization, of having from any one point, at a distance, direction or dictation to the home government where the citizen lived,—as to how he should rear his family, school his children or worship his God.

From this theory of government your early fathers drew their inspiration as against the theory of centralized power which Rome presented. Your fathers chose to adopt that doctrine of home rule and local self-government presented by the Greeks. Thus in New England they laid the foundation of home rule.

Douglas, as a boy, here upon the street corners of Brandon, from the books he read, from the methods of public men he knew, adopted this doctrine of home rule and self-government. As a young man, he read of the War of the Revolution and the fight of your fathers against the domination of kings. He knew what the Revolution was fought for; he knew the glory of the Green Mountain Boys and all of their efforts and sacrifices recounted in the history of the Republic. When he moved to the West, what cardinal doctrine could have been so steeped in his heart and entrenched in his mind as that which you taught him from your doorsteps in his childhood,—that which you taught him as a young scholar, and which he learned at the Academy?

Douglas carried this idea of home rule and the liberty of men out to the West, and when he settled in that great Mississippi valley and the strife came on as to the form of government among those people, what was he to do? What had he been taught in Vermont? Could he have forgotten the theory of your fathers' government? Could he have ignored the doctrines which you taught him? Could he have known any other theory of government than that which he had seen give such good results here in his New England home? Could any of you gentlemen of God's church move out to the land of Mohammed and easily change your faith, or begin teaching some religion wholly distinct from that which you had learned in your

youth by the side of the holy altar? You old soldiers, who wear the bronze button on your breast, I say to you, could you depart into some new country, under the flag of despotism, and fight for anything there as you fought for the liberty of mankind?

What else could this man do? How else could he live except by the teachings you imparted to him in the State of Vermont?

What was meant, my fellow citizens of Vermont, by the oft-quoted expression of "state's rights"?

Professor Draper, in a discussion, had occasion to observe that by the mere use of some one term the ideals of man can wholly be destroyed, and all the theories that have been built up as necessary to government completely rendered without influence. He meant to say, that so inclined are we at times to catch a phrase and add a meaning to it, and pass it from one meaning to another, without ourselves considering its real meaning, thus giving it a false meaning, that finally it arrives to where it presents the very reverse of its original meaning. What, then, did Douglas mean when he referred to the theory of state's rights? There never was in the mind of any thoughtful man in America the thought that state's rights meant that the states, sovereign in matters of home rule, were to be sovereign over the nation in national matters. Douglas, taking his text from New England, when he arrived in the West found two great problems. One was, the building of new states in the new territory opened, and the form of government that those localities should assume. The other was that baleful, baneful question of slavery, which had accursed every nation that had come into being. These two confronted him. It was natural that the people of New England should have confused Douglas's idea when he expressed his mind regarding "squatter sovereignty" and assume that he meant that "state's rights" meant the right of the states to have slavery, notwithstanding any declaration on the part of the federal government. Others would say that state's rights meant the rights of the states sovereign over the federal government to secede from the nation, if at will and pleasure they chose to do so, despite the will and pleasure of the nation.

What Douglas's idea upon secession was when he lived in New England, it is impossible to glean by any absolute expression of his own; but New England had learned that the right of secession came

when government became so onerous or so severe that those who had to endure it could endure it no longer, consistent with liberty. In New England the Declaration of Independence pointed out that when any government became burdensome, it was the right of the people to alter or abolish it. Whether Douglas carried to the far West the idea that the states had a right to secede merely by the decision of themselves, I am not able to state. But we do know that he never entertained for a moment the thought that the states ever had the right to secede, when the question confronted him directly,—when he realized that the nation would oppose such action and the right granted would mean the dissolution of the Union.

Then we come, my fellow citizens, to trace for a moment his career, in order to ascertain what real place in history he deserves, this man who has been so unjustly misrepresented, or honestly misunderstood.

When the question arose as to whether those states,—Illinois, where he lived, a new state; Nebraska, the territory; Kansas, the territory; California, the new state, coming from territory to statehood, should be sovereign in their local affairs—when he voiced his belief that those different peoples had a right to decide for themselves the form of government they should have, it was claimed, of course, that he meant to give them the right to decide for slavery within their borders, and thereafter to have it protected. But that you may see how manifestly unfair this was,—we find that when California came into the Union and her Constitution was presented to the United States Senate by Senator Cass of Michigan, a Democrat also, some question arose as to the land of California and how it should be disposed of,—Douglas, guided by the doctrines he had learned in Vermont, arose, and opposed the arguments of his fellow Democrat and the doctrine that was urged, seeking to prescribe by Congress in what manner the land of California should be enjoyed by her people,—arguing that when she came into this Union she should be allowed to prescribe her own laws, as a sovereign state, by her own people.

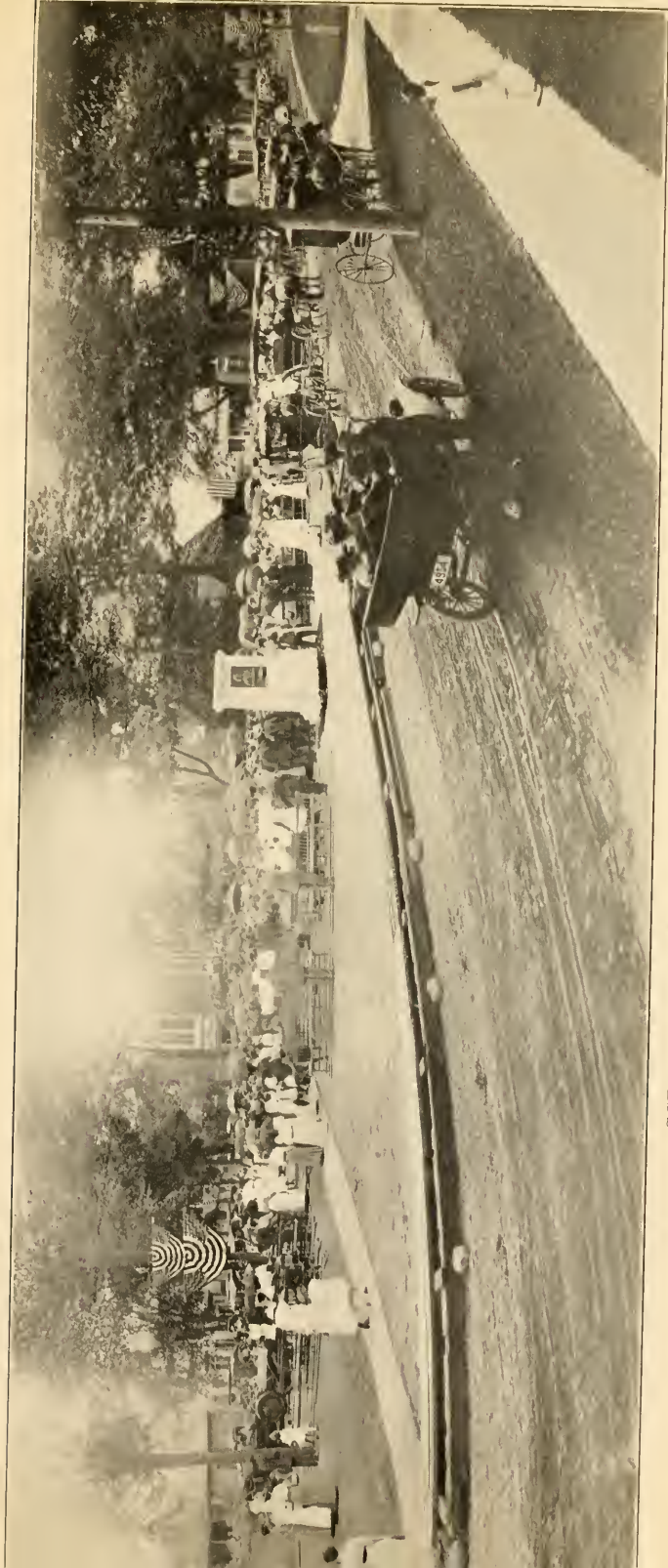
So you will see, my fellow citizens, there was neither the suggestion of slavery as an institution, nor the thought of it. His idea was that of home rule; his was the theory that without home rule

there could be neither patriotism nor sovereignty of the government. He had learned that lesson which you all have learned in some form or other. You take from the town of Brandon the right to govern its own affairs, and allow Montpelier to say by her Legislature sitting there how you shall educate the scholar, how your men shall live, what shall be their occupation,—what rights would Brandon have against that centralized power? What a cry would come forth from the citizens of Brandon if they were unable to govern their home affairs! Their minds would revert to the sacred memory of the fathers of Vermont and the history of New England, and they would cry “Give us liberty of personal action by our vote, or end the farce of freedom!”

So Douglas argued, it being the doctrine of home rule he learned in New England, because he realized that if you take from a people the right to govern themselves in their private affairs, they first become resentful, and then those who are benefitted become the favorites, the others the oppressed. It was because of this theory that this distinguished scholar in history and philosophy sought to inculcate these principles in the great West, that the glorious republic might be preserved. So, when the constitution of Kansas was presented for the consideration of the people, thinking that it might contain some clause touching the question of slavery within the limits of Kansas, which would, of course, be natural, in view of the temper of the times, he then did as he had previously done respecting the land of California, insisted on the very same doctrine as to Kansas. It was a very natural thing, also, that he should urge that the constitution of Kansas, as that of Nebraska, should be so framed that the people within the limits of the states should create their own government. All this was the natural outcome of the teachings which were his, the life which he led and the doctrines which he taught.

So you will see, gentlemen of Vermont, that when there came back to Vermont the theory that one of her sons was the advocate of slavery, because he was an advocate of the doctrine of home rule and state's rights,—you will see at once how manifestly wrong it was, how unfair the accusation brought against him.

Many were the ideas expressed in that stormy hour that we would never hear in these days of peace. What is the situation now?



SCENE AT THE MEMORIAL EXERCISES, JUNE 27, 1913.

Let us pause for a moment and test Douglas and the position he occupied, as tried by time.

We have no war now,—Heaven be praised! No contention among our fellow countrymen that threatens to involve us in war. We can now view the matter with the calm judgment of today.

There is California now,—50 years after Douglas sought to establish the policy of home rule, for the home government of her schools. During the administration of President Roosevelt it was prescribed that the Japanese, a people foreign to our religion, foreign to our mode of living and foreign to our sense of domestic life, should not be permitted to send their children to the same school houses used by the children of American parents. No attempt whatever to prevent them from having the same school advantages, the same books, the same form of teaching, the same opportunity of education; but merely the separation of alien races. The Japanese nation at once set up a protest against separate schools in America for the Japanese and American children.

Then it was that you saw the doctrine of Stephen A. Douglas commending itself to President Roosevelt, for it appeared to him, by the doctrine of home rule she (California) had a right to prescribe the form of teaching, and regulate the schools for her children, without dictation from Washington.

California urged her rights as a sovereign state, asking merely local home rule in matters only within the state and not involving the national constitution. If you will pardon a bit of personal experience, —I happened to be in Tokio, Japan, at the celebration of the 20th anniversary of their constitution. I held an insignificant commission, which gave me the privilege of being present at that assembly. It was impossible for those good people to have any possible appreciation of our dual form of government. They could not understand why the President of the United States at Washington, as the Emperor at Tokio directed matters in distant parts of the empire, could not from his seat direct California as to what should be her action regarding her state matters.

It was Stephen A. Douglas who had educated the great West to the theory that if they ever allowed the principles of home rule to be taken away from them they would have a centralized power,

and following that there would be a few favorites and many oppressed. The favorites would mount upwards until they reached the very highest apex of power, while the humble man would remain a subject instead of a citizen, such as he had the right to be under the constitution.

It was Stephen A. Douglas who learned these lessons in grand old Vermont, and in turn taught them to the great West in the doctrines of liberty and home rule. It was because of this teacher and the lessons he brought from Vermont that the West, in which I live, is now able to govern its matters at home, its purely state matters, as their ideas of justice and right direct.

Is it to be wondered then, that President Wilson, a Democrat, like Roosevelt, Republican, in recommending this theory of our government, was compelled to say to Japan, lately, respecting the question of land and land tenure in California, just exactly as President Roosevelt had been compelled to say respecting the form of schools that California should prescribe for her own within her own state?

On this platform I am honored by the presence of distinguished lawyers of Vermont, a state which has given such men as Edmunds and Phelps to the country, the world,—they will recall that the highest court in the land (the Supreme Court of the United States) last week endorsed the doctrine of Stephen A. Douglas, for when the Republican state of Minnesota, the Republican state of Kansas, the Democratic state of Alabama and the Democratic state of Nebraska joined together to protest to the Supreme Court of the United States against the attempt of the federal government at Washington, through the United States courts, to enjoin the states and prevent the execution of their legislative acts to regulate railroad rates within the states, laws to protect the depositors in their home banks, to prescribe a fair rate for light and heat within the cities; and when the federal government upon the theory of centralization, and dictation from a central head, through the federal courts, enjoined those sovereign states, binding the arms of their attorney-generals, paralyzing their executives, rendering useless the ballot,—these states, without regard to party lines, joined in one solemn array before the Supreme Court of the United States to be heard to contend again for the doctrine taught by Stephen A. Douglas, of Vermont, of Illinois, of America,—

the old doctrine of home rule. These men appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States for their remedy, and when the opinion came a week ago, we there saw the reflection of the teachings of Douglas, and the Supreme Court adopted Douglas's doctrine in the construction of the federal constitution, and held that it was not in the power of a centralized government to restrain local home rule in a state.

It is not false pride in you Vermonters that you can look back over the lapse of years and reflect that your fellow citizen, a native of this state, taught the nation a doctrine, which now has borne such fruit in its fulness, but which has been so misunderstood and misrepresented.

I wish to call your attention to the next era in Douglas's history, which becomes important to us today: Douglas, standing alone and unsupported in the United States Senate, observed that if England were allowed to locate her government in Central America, and gain a foothold there, with Canada at the north and Honduras at the south—it would be but a little while when the United States would be in the heart of this great imperial body, with its head England, and its feet laved in the waters of Central America; that we would be in the imperial grasp, surrounded and controlled by a foreign government.

Thus, when the treaty was offered America, known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, because of Clayton representing our government and Bulwer representing the English government, it provided conditions under which a canal might be constructed through the isthmus, but gave to England the right to locate in Honduras and take a part of Central America; and it was also provided in the treaty that any canal or water-way that should be cut could only be fortified and its shores inhabited by Americans with the consent of the English. There seemed at that time not a voice in that senate, composed of eminent statesmen and learned men, to be raised against this manifest injustice, the evil of which no man could see far enough to measure, until that native of Vermont arose, thoroughly versed in the doctrine which he had learned in Brandon; honestly believing and earnestly teaching that no royal government should exist in America—Douglas believing this, raised his voice against that treaty and laid down the doctrine

of what he called the American foreign policy,—which was, that in America there should only be American government; that there should not be established in this country any off-spring of kingship in Europe. That had been settled by the Revolutionary fathers,—that no imperial form of government or monarchy should be introduced on this continent. In that he saw the death of liberty. He saw the country fortified by Canada to the north and by Spain to the south, and we as a country surrounded and confined, and the first moment America should raise her voice in protest against any wrong, the imperial government of England would interfere and America would be obliged to submit. In the name of the Revolutionary fathers he raised his voice. He protested against it; he prophesied that if this treaty were allowed to go through in this condition, America would rue it. That there would come a time when she would raise her voice to defend herself but it would be too late. He was again charged with wrongful motives; he was charged that his purpose was to create again the old strife, and to breed again the old discontent. But he was not to be moved. The strong, rock-ribbed New Englander was there; the man taught of his fathers was there; the man who came from Puritan stock was there; the man who came from religious stock that believed in God and justice was there; the man who believed in all things noble was there; the man who had chosen to devote his life to the good of mankind was there! And now, my fellow citizens of Vermont, you read in your papers that that very treaty that Stephen A. Douglas raised his voice against and from which he prophesied that evils would arise is interpreted in the very way that Douglas said would be claimed,—England now claims that by virtue of that treaty, which Douglas raised his voice in protest against, we have no right to fortify the canal, to defend it against the approach of enemies without the consent of England. That we have no right to locate American colonies within certain boundaries, without the consent of England; and more, that Vermont shall not send her granite or marble through the canal, our own canal, without the consent of England and England saying what tolls shall be paid by Americans for the purpose of shipping American products.

Where is the spirit of Douglas today? It hovers about us to see your approval of his position when he prophesied in his wisdom the

very crisis that has come upon America, which involves us in questions of greater importance than any since the days of slavery and the civil war. Had Douglas's view of American foreign policy been then adopted, no deep and certain wrong would have been done in that treaty, such as now threatens us.

The principle of conducting our own affairs in America (known as the Monroe Doctrine), had been promulgated by our fathers for the benefit of Americans in America. Douglas was for its spirit, others merely mouthed its letter. This recalls to mind the saying of the great Cicero, that there comes an hour when mankind confess their error and are glad to admit themselves wrong that they may admit a wronged brother was right.

We turn at this point to recall the memory of the patriotism of Douglas. When it was plain that a frenzied, maddened sentiment in the South was bent upon fastening the institution of slavery upon the country or dismembering the republic, when, in the wild enthusiasm of these men who professed to be leaders and statesmen, they gained a following,—men who blindly rushed after the leaders to a point where this Union was threatened with dismemberment,—and Stephen A. Douglas beheld such was the likelihood, he was called in by his late great opponent, Mr. Lincoln. He, who had carried on the debates with him all through Illinois, he looked to him for guidance and counsel in this hour of trouble, though he was Republican, and Douglas a Democrat. Douglas had conducted joint debates with Lincoln upon the questions of the day, and at Jonesboro, in Illinois, Lincoln had said: "I wish it known that I agree with Judge Douglas that in domestic matters a state has a right to do as it pleases even as to the matter of slavery." Thereafter, he and Douglas well understood each other and Stephen A. Douglas, defeated in his laudable ambition to be President, his ambition crushed, his day of hope clouded, his future dimmed so far as political honors might be concerned, his health broken, went to Lincoln, and, seeking only for the good of his country, tendered his efforts to aid his successful rival. Mr. Lincoln said to him, "the hour has come when I fear something must be done; we must be ready; I feel we should order fifty thousand men to shoulder arms." Douglas said (as reported in the private correspondence of Stanton), "Mr. Lincoln, if there are men to be sum-

moned, let there be enough, let there be two hundred thousand and at once!" Lincoln said to him: "Douglas, do you understand the situation?" Douglas, his face blanched, replied: "Unfortunately, too well!" He well understood. He had done all he could to avoid war. He came back to his countrymen, he pleaded with them; he knew what it meant; he knew the desolation it meant for the people; he pleaded with mothers that they might influence their husbands and children; he beseeched children to beg of their fathers and brothers to avoid war. He dreamed of an hour when the glory of the country could be maintained in peace; of a day when no hand should be raised against another, brother against brother, friend against friend. He told Lincoln, "I hear in Illinois there is serious disturbance; that there in our state there is some doubt of loyalty to you. I do not know what I should do, whether I should remain here in the Senate or whether I should return to Illinois, where you need support." Lincoln said, "My friend, do what you think is best." And Douglas, conscious that his health would but little permit him to take the long and difficult journey, notwithstanding, started for his state and the state of Lincoln, that there might be peace preserved, families brought together, conciliation, if possible, and the avoidance of dissension against the President of the United States. Douglas was never permitted to turn his face again to the capital. He pleaded with his people; he pointed out to them the consequences, and had his advice been taken there would have been no war. Had the voice of the people been heard instead of that of the leaders, whose selfishness dragged their followers to death and their country to disaster, there would have been no such calamity as befell our common country. Douglas raised his voice in every place for liberty, and with Webster, for "liberty and union, one and inseparable," throughout every valley and on every hill.

He went to his bed and his last words were to his children, a message to be faithful to the constitution of their country and to uphold the laws of the republic. Patriot in life! Patriot in death! Faithful and loyal in every hour! An American of Americans! This was Stephen A. Douglas, of the United States.

And the memory of Stephen A. Douglas will remind us that patriotism is again called for; the last message of that noble citizen

to his children, to maintain the laws and uphold the constitution, can but fill our hearts at this hour with love and admiration for a man who lived for his country, for a common flag, for a common republic, as every man should live for his country and for his flag, that the sentiment may be fully realized,—“A government of the people, for the people and by the people that shall not perish from the face of the earth.”

I thank you all and bid you good day.

GOVERNOR ORMSBEE :

We have with us today the Governor of Vermont, and we want to have him let you see him and hear him as much or as little as he will. I introduce to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, Governor Fletcher.

GOVERNOR FLETCHER :

Governor Ormsbee, Ladies and Gentlemen :

When I was invited here by Governor Ormsbee it was with the distinct understanding that I was to look dignified and confine myself to that entirely, and so his calling upon me to speak makes me feel that I have been a failure in that respect. There is a time for all things, and after the magnificent address that we have listened to, it seems to me time to draw the veil. There are certain limitations, my friends, that surround the Governor of a state. Only a few days ago I was asked to deliver an address in the town of Wallingford on Memorial Day. I responded and after it was over, an old soldier approached me upon the platform and said, “Sir, I would like to shake hands with you ; we have had six or seven Governors here upon like occasions, and you are the first one that knew when to stop.” I feel in duty bound to say to you that neither Governor Ormsbee nor Governor Mead have spoken upon that platform in thirty years.

Just one word: It seems to me that it is very fitting that the town of Brandon should be proud of this honor ; it is very fitting that the state of Vermont should, as a state, take pride in the honor that is Brandon's. My friends, I think you will agree with me that Divine Providence long ago determined to make the United States the greatest country on the face of the earth, and we all know that Vermont has been of material assistance to Divine Providence to that end.

That being the case there is but one thing for you to do,—to keep on having celebrations of this kind; you have good cause for it; set an example to the state of Vermont; she cannot turn her back from the path she has taken, if she wants to, and she is with you in spirit. I thank you, my friends. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR ORMSBEE:

I introduce to you the grandson of Stephen A. Douglas, who is here with us, Honorable Martin Francis Douglas, who has come all the way from his home to witness this celebration.

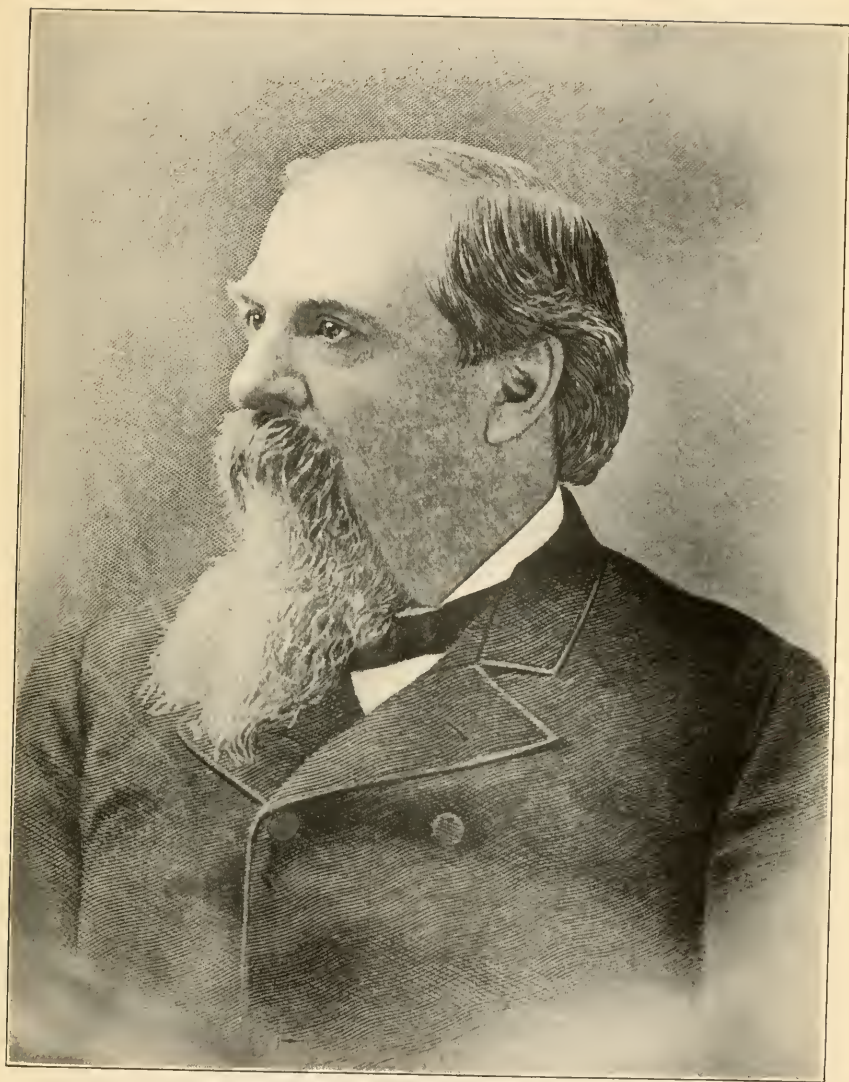
MR. DOUGLAS:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Permit me to thank you in the name of his family, for your tender kindness in turning for a moment from the busy affairs of life to do honor to the memory of Stephen A. Douglas.

Permit me to thank, in the name of patriotic citizens generally, the generous donor of this magnificent monument. It is just and proper to applaud the exploits of men of action; but the man who rears a monument to perpetuate the record of a heroic event or erects a statue to inspire the coming generations of men with the patriotism, the courage, the self-sacrifice of those who have gone before, is scarcely less to be commended. Men may perform deeds, but only historians can preserve them. The pages of an ordinary history may be burned, or destroyed or forgotten; but the work of the historian who inscribes in bronze and marble is imperishable. Down the ages to the farthest stretches of time his work will be a continual reminder of the glory of the past, and a constant incentive and inspiration to virtue in the present.

Mr. Chairman, Stephen A. Douglas loved Vermont and Brandon with all the ardent affection of a dutiful son. And if the dead can see from their far away abode, and are aware of our earthly thoughts and actions, this proof of the citizens of his native town that he did not live in vain, must thrill his heart with tenderness and strengthen his deep-seated devotion to his native state and people. For it was here that his life began. It was here that his early childhood imbibed those heroic traditions and exalted principles that have distinguished this state since the beginning of her history, and are the common inheritance of all her sons. It was here that his mind received its



EX-GOV. E. J. ORMSBEE.

bent, which later manhood developed and strengthened, but did not change. And so his descendants love to think that, although driven afar by the unalterable chance and circumstance of life, his character still retained the impress of his birth, it still retained the immovable quality of the granite of his native hills amid all the shifting policies and political expedients of those stormy days.

I only regret that, dying amid the clouds of civil war and fraternal bloodshed, and broken-hearted over the imminent destruction of the Union he loved so dearly, and for which he sacrificed so much, he could not have seen the sunshine and peace of today; that he could not have seen his descendants from the South join in grateful and brotherly affection with his native townsmen of the North in a common appreciation of his services to the Union of the states.

GOVERNOR ORMSBEE :

You all know that the beautiful, appropriate and costly monument we have today unveiled is the gift of Albert G. Farr, of Chicago and Brandon. I fear that but for his liberality and kindly, noble spirit, that we should never have had this celebration, and now I want to ask you to give three cheers for Albert G. Farr.

(Three cheers given.)

Mr. Farr is not able to be here on account of illness, which we very greatly regret.

A NATIONAL EVENT.

The celebration was an event of national importance. The Associated Press was represented, and accounts were sent by wire to their members all over the country, and published the next morning, the Boston papers devoting much space to it. The cinematograph man was there with his camera, and on thousands of stages throughout the country the exercises have been repeated to tens of thousands of people in the form of motion pictures. Some of the leading architectural and monumental trade journals published engravings of the monument, with very favorable comments. Leslie's Illustrated Weekly had an illustration of the monument and cottage, with a brief summary of the proceedings, containing the curiously erroneous statement that Douglas was "a United States Senator from Illinois during the civil war."

OTHER MEMORIAL EXERCISES

were held on the birthday anniversary, April 23, at Douglas's tomb and monument in Chicago, and at the state Capitol of Illinois in Springfield. The former were under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society, and the speakers and attendants were largely made up of those who had known Douglas in his lifetime or been present at his funeral. Some had heard some of the debates of 1858. There were also further exercises in the rooms of the Historical Society in the evening, at which Martin F. Douglas read an address prepared by his father, Robert M. Douglas.

At Springfield the exercises were held in the hall of the House of Representatives, before the members of the General Assembly and visitors. Gov. Dunne presided, and the speakers included Senators James Hamilton Lewis and Lawrence Y. Sherman, of Illinois, Senator James E. Reed, of Missouri, former Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson, and Robert D. Douglas, another grandson of Stephen A. Douglas.

In the National House of Representatives at Washington, April 23, 1913, Hon. William E. Williams of Illinois delivered an address on the life and character of Stephen A. Douglas.

LETTERS.

Among the many letters received by the committee and others in connection with the centenary celebration at Brandon, the following are of special interest and have therefore been deemed worthy of publication.

FROM ROBERT M. DOUGLAS.

JUNE 25TH, 1913.

Mr. F. H. Farrington,
Brandon, Vt.

Dear Mr. Farrington:—

You cannot imagine the pleasure it would give me to be with you on "Douglas Day," and extend in heartfelt words the thanks I feel to those who have done so much to commemorate my father's memory. But my health confines me to the coldness of written words.

There is something peculiarly tender in a native town calling back the memory of her son who has so long been absent, but whom she has

never forgotten, and who never forgot her. He trod the paths of fame in a distant State, and while she rarely approved his political views, she gave him credit for that manhood, loyalty and truth belonging to the blood he bore, and the pure mountain air that first gave him his infant breath. And now one hundred years after she gave him birth, and fifty-two years after the State of Illinois laid him in an honored tomb, she calls back the spirit of her unforgotten son, and places a monument to mark her claim to him for all coming time.

This beautiful monument is the gift of Mr. Albert George Farr, who like Stephen A. Douglas, was born in Brandon and lives in Chicago. Is this the only resemblance? Do we not see in both the same inherent qualities of manhood which command success? In the future years when Brandon points to this monument, and recalls the name of the man whose memory it commemorates, she may well recall with pride the name of the man who placed it there. Mr. Farr may rest assured of the lasting appreciation of his generous gift by all who bear the Douglas blood.

One of the peculiar pleasures I would have had in visiting Brandon would have been meeting Miss Lucy W. Smith, whom I have long known, not personally, but through her uniform courtesies.

Some years ago she sent me a beautiful set of photographs showing how she had added to, and preserved as far as possible the outlines of the old Douglas days. This did much to keep alive the interest in my father's memory and local association.

Her generous invitation to have been her guest would have been gratefully accepted could I have come.

Now my dear Mr. Farrington, I have much to thank you for. Your lofty conception of the meaning of this event, and your earnest and intelligent effort to give it shape and direction. Your persistent work has met the fullest success.

As I and my descendants are the only living descendants of Stephen A. Douglas, I felt that our family should be represented. Therefore, my youngest son and law partner, Martin F. Douglas, will represent us.

With best wishes and kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS.

FROM EX-PRESIDENT TAFT.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., MAY 17, 1913.

I have your kind note of May 15th with reference to the proposed memorial of Stephen A. Douglas. I greatly regret that my engagements are such as to make it absolutely impossible for me to be present and take part in the memorial exercises, the appropriateness of which is manifest.

Thanking you for the compliment of the invitation, believe me,
Sincerely yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

FROM EX-VICE-PRESIDENT STEVENSON.

(Mr. Stevenson's original letter having been mislaid, this is his response to a request for a copy of it).

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., OCT. 29, 1913.

Your letter of Oct. 27 at hand. I regret that I have no copy of the letter I wrote Gov. Ormsbee some months ago. I send by this mail copy of address I delivered in 1908 before the State Historical Society touching the life and public services of Senator Douglas. If there is anything in it of interest to you it can be used as you think best.

In my early manhood I knew Senator Douglas well. I heard him in the great Lincoln debates, and upon many other occasions. My first political speech was in advocacy of his election to the presidency. I was present at the laying of the corner stone of the "Douglas Monument" in Chicago.

I recall him distinctly. He was one of the manliest of men, and a statesman worthy of mention with the greatest in our history.

Yours very truly,

ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

FROM SPEAKER CLARK.

THE SPEAKER'S ROOM, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 15, 1913.

I have always regarded Stephen A. Douglas as one of the greatest men of his generation, in fact, one of the greatest of all our statesmen.

I believe he was one of the most skillful debaters this country ever had in it. It was a great misfortune for the country, and especially for the Democratic party, that he died so young.

The people of Vermont do well to build a monument to his memory.

Yours truly,

CHAMP CLARK.

FROM EX-SPEAKER CANNON.

DANVILLE, ILLS., MAY 30, 1913.

I have your letter 24th inst., covering invitation for Douglas memorial address in June or July. I very much regret that my engagements are such that I cannot accept.

I am fairly well acquainted with the career of Stephen A. Douglas. He was a great man—a great statesman, and in several speeches he made shortly before his decease he did invaluable service in the great contest for the preservation of the Union. I am satisfied that southern and central Illinois, southern and central Indiana and southern Ohio except for these speeches would have been practically in the same condition during the war as were Missouri and Kentucky.

Very truly yours,

J. G. CANNON.

FROM ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

AUGUSTA, GA., MARCH 6TH, 1913.

Your letter reached me here. The plan to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the birth of Senator Douglas in Brandon and to mark his birth place there is one which should appeal to all who recall his most distinguished career, and above all the very great services that he as a popular leader rendered in his last days to the saving of our government.

I feel highly honored by your invitation to make an address upon the occasion, and much regret that it is not possible for me to do so. The condition of my health compelled me two years ago to retire from

active life and to refrain also from accepting invitations like yours or even attending an assemblage such as you propose.

With much regret and with every wish for the success of your plans, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

FROM HENRY WATTERSON.

FORT MYERS, FLORIDA, JANUARY 31ST, 1913.

Your letter of the 24th of January reaches me here. I am highly honored by the invitation it embodies. I doubt whether any living man, except his surviving son, Judge Robert Douglas of North Carolina, knew Stephen A. Douglas as well as I did—certainly no one who sympathized more wholly with his personality and opinions. Hence, I should rejoice beyond measure if it were possible for me to deliver the address. Unfortunately, it is wholly impossible and most reluctantly I am obliged to decline what would be altogether a labor of love.

It has always been a pleasure for me to visit the Green Mountain section. I had one of my sons at Dartmouth College, and the region about Hanover is most familiar to me and my family.

Let me thank you for the very kind terms of your letter and subscribe myself,

Sincerely,

HENRY WATTERSON.

FROM EX-GOV. SULZER.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER.

ALBANY, JUNE 25, 1913.

It certainly was very good of you to invite me to the Douglas Centennial Anniversary to be held in Brandon, Vermont, on the 27th inst.

Nothing would gratify me more than to be able to accept and be with you on this interesting occasion. However, it will be absolutely

impossible on account of pressing official duties which detain me in Albany.

It is fitting that the anniversary of the hundredth birthday of Stephen A. Douglas be celebrated in his birthplace, and the occasion made a memorable one by the dedication of a suitable monument.

My father knew Douglas quite well, and admired him much. He was a great American and a true patriot.

With best wishes, and hoping the celebration will be a great success in every way, believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

WM. SULZER.

FROM SENATOR PAGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 23, 1913.

To The Committee of Arrangements,

Centennial Anniversary Exercises in Memory of

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, Brandon, Vermont.

Gentlemen:—

Have received your invitation to be present at the ceremony in connection with the dedication of the monument erected to the memory of Hon. Stephen A. Douglas on the 27th instant, and regret exceedingly that I cannot be with you at that time and participate in what I am sure will be a most enjoyable occasion.

During the earlier years of my political life, when, as a boy, I seized upon and read with avidity everything pertaining to the political contest which resulted in the election of James Buchanan in '56 and the defeat of Douglas and the election of Lincoln in '60, I was a great admirer of Stephen A. Douglas, and remember to have spent a day in driving to Montpelier to hear the "Little Giant" make a political speech.

I had never heard anything comparable to the force and eloquence of Douglas at that time, and I am not certain that I might not add that never in my life have I heard anything that I could rank as superior to Douglas' memorable speech at Montpelier in the summer of 1860. I think it was during that speech that he uttered the memorable and never-to-be-forgotten sentiment: "Vermont is a good state in

which to be born and a good state from which to emigrate." I think the sentiment was not pleasantly received by the Vermonters who gathered at their capital to listen to the words of wisdom which fell from the lips of the "Little Giant," but despite this fact Vermont's great pride in this her distinguished son did not abate, and Vermont has always been exceedingly proud of the fact that she gave to the country one of the strongest men in public life during the ten years which preceded the Civil War.

Sometimes it seems to me that the mental giants of that decade—notably Webster, Clay and Douglas—have never been matched—certainly not surpassed—in any decade of our Nation's history, and Brandon has every right to bedeck herself in her gayest colors on Friday next while she honors the memory of one of the most brilliant statesmen which this country has ever produced.

Again regretting my inability to be with you on this occasion, I am,

Respectfully yours,

CARROLL S. PAGE.

(The following telegram from Senator Dillingham was received while the exercises were in progress.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 27, 1913.

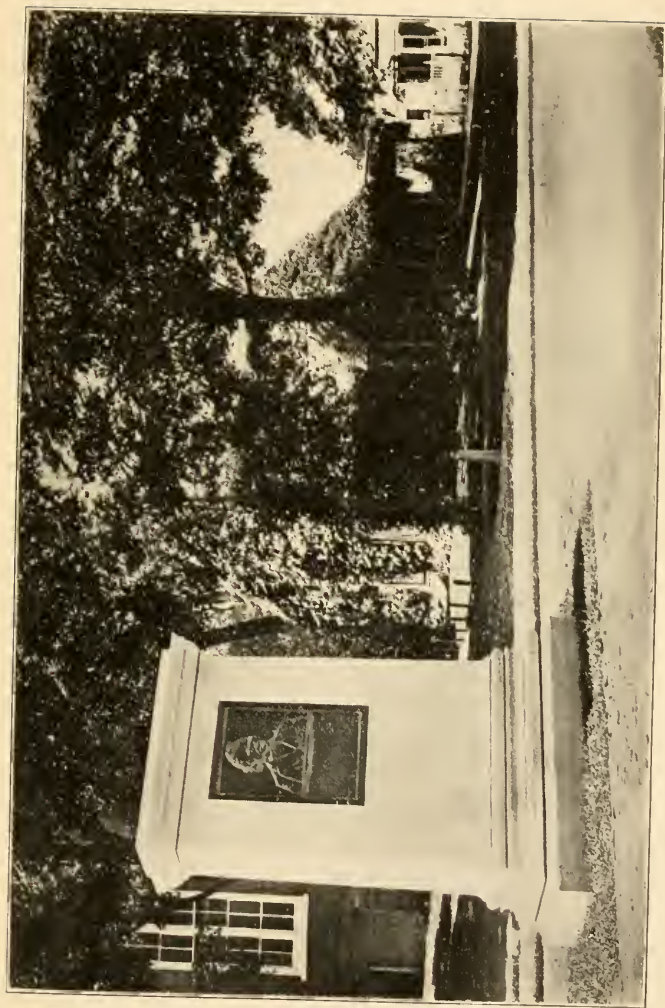
I am just now in receipt of a note from the President expressing his regrets that it was not possible for him to get away in time to attend the Douglas anniversary at Brandon, planned for today, and saying it would have been most agreeable for him to have been there had it been possible.

W. P. DILLINGHAM, U. S. S.

DESCRIPTION OF MONUMENT.

(BY THE ARCHITECTS.)

On the cloister wall leading from the tower to the Auditorium at the University of Chicago is a bronze tablet bearing a bas relief portrait of Stephen A. Douglas. This tablet was a gift to the University by one of its classes. On this tablet is the following inscription:



(From Photo by C. W. Turner.)

THE MONUMENT AND BIRTHPLACE.

“In honor of Stephen A. Douglas who in 1855 generously contributed to the founding of the first University established in Chicago. This tablet is erected in June, 1901, by the Decennial Class of the University of Chicago.”

The sculptor for this tablet was the well known American artist, Mr. Lorado Taft.

It was believed suitable by the admirers of Mr. Douglas to use this tablet to mark the birthplace of Stephen A. Douglas in Brandon, Vt., after the permission of the authorities of the University of Chicago and of Mr. Taft had been obtained.

Mr. Albert G. Farr, a native of Brandon and member of the Douglas Monument Committee, directed Messrs. Sherley, Rutan & Coolidge, well known architects of Boston and Chicago, to prepare a design for a monument with this portrait of Mr. Douglas and the following inscription:

“Stephen A. Douglas, teacher, lawyer, orator, statesman, United States Senator from Illinois 1847 to 1861, Democratic candidate for President of the United States against Abraham Lincoln. Loyal supporter of Lincoln and the Union in the early days of the War of the Rebellion. Born at Brandon, April 23, 1813, in the cottage west of this site. Died in Chicago, June 3, 1861.”

On the reverse side of the monument, it seemed well to place a second inscription, as the monument will be seen from both sides:

“This monument set up by citizens of Brandon, Vt., April 23, 1913, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas who was born just west of this monument.

"The bas relief on the other side is a replica of the one at the University of Chicago by Lorado Taft. Under the original is an inscription referring to the generous contribution by Mr. Douglas toward the foundation in 1855 of the first University established in Chicago, which is now the University of Chicago."

The design for the monument is based on pure Grecian forms and is carried out in white Vermont marble quarried near Brandon.

The location chosen for the monument was the green in front of the cottage in which Mr. Douglas was born, the side bearing the portrait facing the road which, by the way, is the main highway, which runs from Boston to Montreal.

The reverse side of the monument is towards the cottage and the inscription can be read by all passers-by on that side.

ALBERT G. FARR,

the donor of the monument, like Douglas, was born in Brandon, removed to Illinois, and there achieved marked success as a result solely of his own ability, determination and perseverance. Like Douglas, too, he began his career as a school teacher, then practiced law, made his residence in Chicago, and (here the parallel ending) finally became a prominent banker. He is chairman of the executive committee of the Harris Trust & Savings Bank of Chicago, a director of N. W. Harris & Co. of Boston, and of Harris, Forbes & Co. of New York. Mr. Farr's public spirit and generous help to worthy enterprises and institutions in his native town (the Brandon Free Public Library may be particularly mentioned) is well known and highly appreciated by the townspeople.



M. H. H.
1896

ALBERT G. FARR.

[REDACTED]

Since the above was written, Mr. Farr, who had not been well for some time, succumbed to pneumonia and died at Chicago, December 23, 1913, at the age of 63, thus completing the parallel with the life and death of Stephen A. Douglas. Mr. Farr's abilities as a financier were of a high order, and won him wealth and a reputation in the financial world, but to Vermonters he is best known and remembered for his quiet benevolence in many directions, and for his liberal aid to many public enterprises in his native town and state. He had a fine summer home in Brandon, and his beautiful garden and grounds, as well as his property on Mt. Pleasant, near the village, were always open to the public. All who enjoyed his friendship or acquaintance mourn his loss.

[REDACTED]

THE BIRTHPLACE.

The cottage in which Douglas was born was acquired some years ago by Miss Lucy W. Smith, a lady of taste and culture, who, except for the addition of a porch on one side, has maintained the exterior in its original condition. The interior has been transformed into a charming modern home, containing many rare pieces of antique furniture, and pictures and other mementos of the great man who there first saw the light. It is fortunate that the historic structure has fallen into such appreciative hands.

DEATH OF DOUGLAS'S FATHER.

Dr. Stephen A. Douglas, Sr., was a practicing physician, and died suddenly when the infant Stephen was but a little more than two months old. The circumstances of his death are narrated as follows by Horatio L. Wait, of Chicago, who served in the Navy during the civil war, and whose wife was a granddaughter of John Conant of Brandon, and appear to be authentic. We quote from a letter dated June 14, 1911:

Soon after Stephen A. Douglas was born, early in the morning, his father was sitting in the living room before an open fire holding the infant in his arms. John Conant, the neighbor and friend, came in, and just as he opened the door into the room the father died suddenly of apoplexy, and the infant rolled into the fire. John Conant literally rescued the child from the fire. Naturally thereafter he took special interest in him. When he started in the cabinet making business, Conant gave him orders for tables, bureaus and book cases for all his daughters.

I heard Lincoln and Douglas speak in Chicago, and was introduced to Douglas and his then wife Adele, was greatly impressed by the graciousness of both, and I have no doubt that her beauty and tact contributed materially to his public success.

It is therefore not surprising that I felt much interested when I found myself posted as a sentry at the head of his coffin when lying in state, and stood at attention, present arms, when his remains were lowered in mother earth, remembering that a family ancestor had plucked as a brand from the burning the infant destined to become such a power for good during his eventful life.

THE ANCESTRAL GRAVES.

In the old burying ground on Center Street, Brandon village, rest the remains of Douglas's father, and paternal grandfather and grandmother. The graves are marked by quaint, old-fashioned tombstones, adorned with sculptured urns and weeping willows. The inscriptions are as follows:

Doct.
Stephen A. Douglass
died July 1st
1813
In the 32d year
of his age.

Guardian Angels hover round,
And watch this virtuous sleeping clay,
Till the last trump of joyful sound
Proclaim the triumph of the Day.

Sacred to the
memory of
Benajah Douglass Esq
who died October 2
1829
in the 69 year of
his age.

The righteous hath hope in his death.

Mrs.
Martha,
Consort of
Benajah
Douglass Esq.
died April 1st
1818, in the 56 year
of her age.

Virtue lives beyond the grave.

It will be noted that in the above inscriptions, the surname is spelled "Douglass," not "Douglas," as Stephen A. spelled it.

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DOUGLAS AT MIDDLEBURY IN 1851.

It is not generally known that Douglas received the honorary degree of LL. D. from Middlebury College at the Commencement of 1851, and we have not seen the fact recorded in any of his biographies. He was present and spoke at the college, and also in response to a serenade at his hotel. He also visited Brandon before returning to Illinois. The most detailed account of the doings at Middlebury that we have found appeared in the Brandon Post for Sept. 4, 1851, which

we reprint below. The degree was conferred on Commencement day, which was August 20, 1851.

The speech of Mr. Douglas related to the character and prospects of the College, the character of the State and its inhabitants, and the responsibilities which rested upon the people of this country as the nursery of educated men for the West. His remarks throughout were forcible, chaste and eloquent, and were received by the audience with great tokens of approbation and pleasure. Very few men of Senator Douglas's age and opportunities for early culture could have risen before that audience, without preparation, and made a speech so replete with excellent thoughts, so elegant in language, so polished in delivery, and so full of all the graces of oratory, as the one he did. He closed in a manner that showed the largeness of his heart and the sincerity of the sentiments he had uttered. He said—"But it is time, Mr. President, to stop talking and begin to act,—to show the sincerity of our words in our deeds. Bring out the subscription." And thereupon the subscription Book was produced and the Honorable gentleman, in presence of the audience, put down his name for *five hundred dollars*, and paid the first installment of one hundred dollars to the President. . . . The young Senator from Illinois won "golden opinions" for himself from men of all classes and parties, and his presence at Commencement added much to the interest of the occasion, and was a source of gratification to all who attended, as it was doubtless to himself.

From another article in the same paper we quote as follows:

Mr. Douglas and lady arrived at Middlebury on the 18th ult., and remained through Commencement. Both himself and lady, an accomplished and agreeable woman, were cordially welcomed by the inhabitants of that town. On the evening after his arrival quite a large number of the citizens gave him a hearty welcome at the Vermont Hotel, accompanied by a serenade from the Lowell Brass Band, which discoursed most excellent music to the listeners, and being called out, he promptly responded to the call, and made a most beautiful speech, (bating a slight spice of Hunkerism which the Whigs cheered vociferously, and which, we doubt not, he regretted having indulged in) referring in a most felicitous manner to his former residence and occupation in Middlebury, to his affection for his native State, to his pride in her characters, to the beauty and grandeur of her scenery, the richness and variety of her products, the irrepressible enterprise of her people as evinced in her rail-ways, and the great influence which through her sons she had exerted, and would hereafter exert, upon the institutions and destinies of the new States and Territories of the republic. His remarks, with the above exception, were all in good taste, well conceived and delivered in an easy and graceful style of elocution. He went from Middlebury to Brandon, where he stopped to visit friends and old acquaintances, and where

he met with an equally warm and cordial reception. Mr. Douglas is now thirty-eight years of age, of small stature, with a large and intellectual head, a frank, manly and pleasing countenance, and most courteous, unaffected and agreeable manners. He is a man of whom Vermont may very well feel proud.

We extract the following from the account of the Middlebury Register of August 27, 1851 :

To Judge Douglas's naturally fine appearance, winning manners, and graceful and dignified oratory, was added the special eclat of a prospective Presidential nomination, highly probable next year, and, if not so soon, almost certain to fall upon him at some future time.

DOUGLAS'S CELEBRATED LEFT-HANDED COMPLIMENT TO VERMONT.

In his remarks at Middlebury College, on the occasion above referred to, Senator Douglas made the oft-quoted statement about the advantages of Vermont as a natal state. His own account of what he said, in a speech in Illinois seven years afterward, is as follows :

I was born away down in Yankee land ; I was born in a valley in Vermont, with the high mountains around me. I love the old green mountains and valleys of Vermont, where I was born, and where I played in my childhood. I went up to visit them seven or eight years ago, for the first time in twenty-odd years. When I got there, they treated me very kindly. They invited me to the Commencement of their College, placed me on the seats with their distinguished guests, and conferred upon me the degree of LL. D. in Latin, the same as they did on Old Hickory at Cambridge many years ago, and I give you my word and honor I understood just as much of the Latin as he did. When they got through conferring the honorary degree, they called upon me for a speech ; and I got up with my heart full and swelling with gratitude for their kindness, and I said to them : "My friends, Vermont is the most glorious spot on the face of this globe for a man to be born in, *provided* he emigrates when he is very young."

It has always seemed to the writer as passing strange that Douglas should have expressed himself in just that language before such an audience and on such an occasion, in the state to which he was referring. It seemed too much like a lack of that tact, that graciousness, that felicity of thought and language which usually distinguished him. Perhaps, after the lapse of seven years, his memory was not quite clear as to the exact language used, and possibly he wanted to put it in a way to please his then audience. We are fortunate in

being able to present to our readers the version of a member of the audience who listened to Douglas's Commencement speech in 1851, and who clearly recalls the remark in question. We refer to Mr. E. G. Hunt, of New Haven, Vt., a graduate of Middlebury College in the class of 1857. Mr. Hunt writes us under date of November 11, 1913, as follows:

I was present and remember well Douglas's remark about Vermont being a good state to emigrate from, &c. Sometime last spring I saw in the Burlington Free Press an interpretation of that remark, I think from the pen of Gov. Barstow, that was new to me. It was an attempt to explain it in a manner somewhat far-fetched, as a compliment to the state. That is, that he meant to say that it was an honor to hail from the state of Vermont. Where that explanation originated, whether from Mr. Douglas himself or from some other source, I have no idea. It had never occurred to me that it could have been in the speaker's mind at the time he uttered the words, and I am sure it was not so understood by the audience. There would have been nothing in such a remark to create a sensation, and there was a decided sensation.

You, in your letter, make Mr. Douglas say that "Vermont is a good state to be born in, provided you emigrate early." That last clause, "provided you emigrate early," I do not think was in the speech. I should say that his language was: "Vermont is a good state to be born in, a good state to be brought up in," and then, after a little pause, "and a good state to emigrate from." That "brought down" the house.

We think that Mr. Hunt's version of this celebrated remark is a much more reasonable and satisfactory one than that of Senator Douglas himself, and it is probably about what he said.

DOUGLAS'S FATHER NOT A GRADUATE OF MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE.

Several of the biographies of Douglas state that his father was a graduate of Middlebury College, and Douglas himself makes the same statement in his autobiography. This appears to be an error. President John M. Thomas, of the College, writes us:

Several biographical sketches of Judge Douglas state that his father was a graduate of Middlebury College. We would be very proud of that fact if it were a fact, but are unable to find in our records of graduates or former students the name of the father of Stephen A. Douglas.

WELCOME

OF

HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
TO HIS NATIVE TOWN!!

This distinguished gentleman, with his estimable lady are expected to visit Brandon, the town of his birth, on

Saturday, 28th inst., arriving at 4 o'clock P. M.

when he will be received by a Committee of Citizens, with a

HAND OF MUSIC

AND

MILITARY ESCORT,

and conducted to the Brandon House, where suitable

ADDRESSES MAY BE EXPECTED.

Per order of the Committee.

BRANDON, JULY 25TH, '60.

VISITOR OF FICE, BRANDON, VT.

POSTER OF 1860.

DOUGLAS AT BRANDON IN 1860.

In the summer of 1860, soon after his nomination for the presidency, Douglas made a campaign tour of New England, and visited Vermont, speaking at several of the larger places, and arrived at Brandon on Saturday, July 28, where he remained over Sunday. The following account of his visit to Brandon is from the Rutland Herald of August 2, 1860.

Some forty of our citizens, including the committee of reception from Brandon, accompanied Mr. Douglas to Brandon, where he was received as in Rutland, by the citizens of all parties, amounting in number to some 2000 persons, and greeting extended to him, such as Brandon knows how to bestow. The Brandon House and many private residences were decorated with flags and streamers, and everything wore a holiday appearance. The "Allen Grays" were out and did escort duty, and the Brandon and Vergennes bands furnished music for the occasion.

Upon the arrival of the cars at Brandon, a procession was formed, escorted by the Bands and Military, and headed by the carriages containing Mr. Douglas, the committee of reception and the invited guests, and followed by a large number of carriages containing the citizens generally. The procession moved through most of the principal streets until it came to the old homestead, or "birthplace" of their guest, when it halted, and an opportunity was given for those who chose to view at this time that interesting relic. A large concourse of people had gathered here in advance of the procession, and upon its arrival great enthusiasm was manifested by the crowd. Mr. Douglas, as well as his friends, viewed this relic of his boyhood days with an evident degree of interest. The building stands at the north end of the village, and is a small, brown, story and a half house, with a latticed porch, and bears evidence of the humble life of the former occupants, but there were associations connected with it, which at this time made it a matter of interest far beyond many of more attractive appearance.

After this halt of the procession it then moved back to the Brandon House, where accommodations had been provided for their guests, and the procession was broken up. A platform had been erected in front of the hotel, which was now occupied by the committee and their guests and a few invited friends.

Mr. Douglas was welcomed to Brandon and her hospitalities by E. N. Briggs, Esq., and then introduced to her citizens. Mr. Douglas responded in a most touching and affecting reply, and we have to regret that we cannot give it entire to our readers. He acknowledged his gratitude for the attention paid him by the citizens of all parties, and confined his remarks to topics peculiar to, and suggestive of, the

occasion.* He spoke for about thirty minutes, and was listened to with profound attention, after which the formality of the reception was broken up, and he mingled freely with the citizens. At eight o'clock in the evening Mr. and Mrs. Douglas held a levee in the parlors of the Brandon House, for the purpose of receiving their friends, and a large number of citizens paid their respects to them.

Mr. Douglas left Brandon on the Monday morning train for Burlington and Montpelier.

We cannot suffer this opportunity to pass without expressing our approval of the course pursued by a large number of the Republicans of Rutland County, and especially of Brandon and Rutland, who participated in this reception. Being the dominant party of this State with well known principles, and a majority, which under no circumstances can be blotted out, we can well afford to be generous to our opponents, and especially so at this time, when one of their great chiefs, who was born among us in obscurity, but by his own exertions has raised himself to the eminent position he now occupies, returns with political objects professedly thrown aside, to pay a social visit to his own native County. We feel that in so doing we can honor the man without being understood as endorsing his principles, and we believe that this course of policy is the best to be pursued at all times and by all parties, having a tendency as it does of softening political asperities and making us more honorable politicians and better men.

DANIEL ROBERTS' REMINISCENCIES.

In Harper's Magazine for November, 1893, appeared some interesting reminiscencies of Douglas by Daniel Roberts, of Burlington, Vt. We reprint below the major part of them:

It happened to me when a young man of 22 to 24 years of age, to reside in Morgan County, Illinois—for the most part at Jacksonville, the county seat. This embraced the period from about April, 1833, to August, 1835. Stephen A. Douglas, a boy originally from Brandon, Vt., had arrived in the county, and spent the winter of 1833-4 in teaching school at Winchester, then in Morgan County, some 16 miles from Jacksonville. Early in 1834 he came to Jacksonville, and was admitted to the county bar, though scarce 21 years of age, and fastened his professional sign on the outer wall of the old brick court house, in which he took an office, situate, as was then

*Mr. J. B. Kelly, who is still living in Brandon, played in the Brandon Band on this occasion, and heard this speech. He says that the speaker referred to politics, among other things likening the Republican party to a squirrel on the limb of a tree, which has just been shot by a hunter, and is clinging to the limb for dear life during its few last moments, soon to fall and be seen no more. That squirrel has not only clung to the limb ever since, but has been running about in quite a lively fashion most of the time, though at the last presidential election it almost lost its grip.

the fashion, in the center of the public square, in association with the market house.

Clients were rare visitors at his office, nor was he a close keeper of his office for either business or study; but he was out among "the boys," assuming the part of politician from the start, a germinating and budding senator and president. The population of central and southern Illinois was largely an emigration from the States south of it—Kentucky, Tennessee, etc.—and of that class that made up the Jackson democracy of that day. Morgan County was Democratic, while the lawyers of Jacksonville were Henry Clay Whigs. Young Douglas took in the situation at a glance, and with a ready instinct doffed his eastern dress and manners, and assumed a suit of Kentucky jeans and an arm-in-arm intimacy, in street and saloon, with men of that uniform and of the Jackson stripe. Social and friendly in manner, ready of speech and in debate, with perfect confidence in himself, he soon became a favorite with the Jackson men, and was put forward as their champion in political meetings and conventions. I remember it was in 1834 that Benjamin Mills, of Galena, a graceful speaker, appeared in the court house at Jacksonville, and made a taking public address in advocacy of his own election to Congress as a Henry Clay Whig. William L. May, of Carrollton, was the Jackson candidate. At the close of this address, "Little Douglas," as he was called, was thrust, not unwillingly, to the platform, for he was on hand for a purpose. His attempted reply and counter-attack were so spirited as greatly to arouse the enthusiasm of his party friends, and to inspire a stout Kentuckian standing near me to cry out, "Hit him again, little fellow! Give him a pair of gaffs." It was a match of gamecocks with my Kentucky friend, and his heart went out for the little chap, the Bantam cock of the fight.

It is said of Douglas in his biography, as given in Appleton's Encyclopedia, that "he was remarkably successful at the bar, as may be inferred from the fact that within a year of his admission, while not yet 22 years of age, he was elected by the Legislature attorney-general of the State." This cannot be a true inference, for at that time, as a matter of fact, Douglas had almost no practice at the bar and no reputation as a lawyer, his election as attorney-general to the contrary notwithstanding. That this mere boy should by any legal attainments or professional skill have been able to depose Colonel Hardin, a mature man and skilled lawyer and eloquent speaker, intrenched as he was under the statute law of his appointment, and have put himself in Colonel Hardin's place of his own force, seems quite incredible. The result points more naturally to some influences and motives outside any professional or other special deservings of Douglas as the originating and efficient cause of this result.

To the people of Morgan County of that day this cause and the mode of its working were well understood and notorious. They were of this sort: John Wyatt, a farmer, then residing in the southern part of the county, was State senator; his friendship Douglas had

been careful to cultivate. Wyatt was a fierce Jackson Democrat and a man of much rough force of character. He was fiercely and openly hostile, both politically and personally, to Colonel Hardin, and had determined upon his removal from the office of attorney-general; but in order to effect this the law must be so changed as to legislate Hardin out of office and make the office elective by the Legislature. At the session of the Legislature then held at Vandalia, in the winter of 1834-5, a strongly Democratic body, Senator Wyatt succeeded in securing the required change in the law, and thereupon sent for his young friend Douglas to come at once to Vandalia and present himself as candidate for the office, announcing: "If I can only beat John Hardin and beat him with little Douglas, it will be too good." On this invitation the young man started for Vandalia.

I myself with a companion went there later by horseback ride, stopping over night on the way at a wayside inn, where we enjoyed the display, new to us, of a prairie fire, and the exhilarating fun of leaping our horses back and forth through the light flames. Arrived at Vandalia I there met young Douglas, who had in so short a time made himself acquainted and familiar with the members of the Legislature, and had become quite a pet with them, sitting on their knees even, and in every way making himself agreeable by assimilation.

Well, the result of the legislative canvass was that Douglas was elected attorney-general, Hardin's seat having been legislated from under him. John Wyatt, Senator, had got his revenge, and was glorious and boastful. He had beaten John Hardin and with "little Douglas."

I remember as though it were but yesterday when Douglas, on a bright Sunday morning, mounted on a three-year-old mare colt furnished him by his friend, Wyatt, set out from the court house square for Springfield to assume his duties in court as attorney-general. He was not a striking figure on horseback. His weight was about 130 pounds avoirdupois, and his short legs allowed his feet to reach scarcely below the saddle skirts. He had stored in his saddle-bags a book on criminal law which I had lent him; it was his whole library. And this was the first stage of the political journey toward Washington and the White House of Douglas, the "Little Giant." In August, 1835, I came back to Vermont on a visit, which has lasted to this hour.

CAMPAIGNING IN 1843.

Hon. Orville H. Browning, of Illinois, who succeeded Douglas as Senator from that state, was pitted against him as a candidate for Representative to Congress in 1843. In his remarks in the Senate on the death of Douglas, he spoke as follows of that campaign:

In the spring of 1843, the State having been redistricted for congressional representation, he and I, residents of the same village

\$ 167

Pay to the order of
cashier one hundred & sixty seven dollars
I change the sum to my account
J. M. Carpenter & Co. J. S. Douglas
Washington Dec 21st 1867

CHECK OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, TO ORDER OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A. Lincoln

ENDORSEMENT ON CHECK.

—the one a judge, the other a practitioner before him—were nominated by our respective parties as opposing candidates for Congress in the same district.

In the forenoon of a bright summer day in June, the court was brought to a close for the term in the last county in the circuit, and he at once resigned the judgeship.*

In the afternoon of the same day, by previous mutual arrangement, and at the urgent solicitation of both political parties, we addressed a large assemblage of Whigs and Democrats, thus opening one of the most excited, arduous, and earnest political campaigns that was ever made in the State.

The next day we passed into another county, and again addressed the people; and from that time forward till the election, we travelled together, often in the same conveyance, and spoke together from the same stand on an average of two hours each per day, and that repeated every day, as my memory now serves me, with the exception only of the Sabbath. The district was one of the largest in the United States, both in population and territory, and the summer unusually warm; and it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the health of both of us gave way under the constant and heavy draught thus made on our physical and intellectual energies; mine a little before, and his on the day of the election.

Perhaps at no time in our country's history did party spirit run higher or wax warmer than at this time it did in Illinois. Personal rancor was almost universal, and personal conflicts not unfrequent between opposing candidates. Impressed with a sense of how pernicious the influence of such an example was upon the public mind; how adverse to a calm and impartial hearing and fair estimate of discussion of the questions which separated us, and vitally interested the country; and how incompatible with the dignity which ought to characterize the deportment of gentlemen aspiring to high positions of trust and honor, we came to a mutual understanding, before entering upon the canvass, not to violate with each other the courtesies and proprieties of life; and not to permit any ardor or excitement of debate to betray us into any coarse and unmanly personalities. And I am proud to say that the compact was well and faithfully kept on both sides. During the entire campaign not one unkind word or discourteous act passed between us; and we closed the canvass with the friendly relations which had previously subsisted undisturbed, and maintained them, without interruption, to the day of his death.

*While presiding on the bench at Knoxville, the news of his first nomination for Congress came. The news so stirred the people that he was obliged to adjourn court, and the whole assemblage, judge and jury, lawyers and spectators, paraded around the public square, singing:

"The old black bull came down the meadow."

—*Stephen A. Douglas*, by *Clark E. Carr*.

*ADDRESS OF MR. COLLAMER, OF VERMONT, IN THE U. S.
SENATE, JULY 9, 1861.*

Mr. President: Stephen A. Douglas was a native of Vermont, and she claims to utter a word on the occasion of this solemn announcement of his decease. However much a majority of her people may have often, and perhaps generally, disagreed with his political positions and measures, yet they duly appreciate the strong points of his character, the elevated position he has occupied, and the extensive influence he has wielded in this nation, and cherish pride in him as one of their sons. That a poor orphan boy from the Green Mountains could peaceably accomplish all this, is to that people not merely a matter of wonder or admiration of his personal resolution and ability, but an inspiring and brilliant manifestation of the generous liberality of our free institutions, opening the avenues of enterprise to success and elevation to the effort and energy of all, however humble.

Brilliant and commanding as have been the positions and parts which he has performed on the political theatre of this nation, it is strikingly observable in how short a time it was accomplished. His whole course in the national councils was confined to a period of less than twenty years. In that short period, laboring in the Democratic party, he succeeded in securing to himself the sympathy and affection of the great body of the masses of that long-dominant party, and held their hearts in his hand. How generous and cordial must have been the spirit of the man to secure to himself so extensive, so confiding, and devoted attachments!

The first great ingredient in the composition of his success was, that he was not merely with the masses of the people, but was of them. The people submit with cheerfulness to leadership and control if it is of their own creation; and Mr. Douglas was not great by adventitious circumstances beyond their control. This, his normal character, was never essentially modified by any sophistications of education, which with him was very limited; and he fully appreciated through life, as an element of his strength, and often proudly alluded to, his early mechanic service as fixing his identity with the masses of the people.

Another element of his success is found in his indomitable energy and perseverance. This is too universally understood to require re-

mark. It was said of old that the gods help those who help themselves, and men generally concur in like conduct.

It has been truly said that "much study makes a wise man, much writing a correct man, and much speaking a ready man." The last of these propositions is most true of controversial speaking; and of that Mr. Douglas was both an example and an illustration. Much has been said of his power of debate as a point in his superiority and an instrument of his elevation. As a public speaker, he was almost exclusively practiced as an advocate and champion of the Democratic party, whose principles and doctrines he never questioned. He thus became disciplined in occupying and defending positions rather than in selecting them. In this he became dexterous and adroit to an unusual and almost wonderful degree in all the skill of forensic gladiatorship. As the positions of his party were, with him, unquestionable and axiomatic truths, he regarded everything opposed to them as false and unfounded. With this habit of mind, it became to him almost impossible ever to receive or appreciate, believe or present, the statements or arguments of his opponent in any other light but the one which would destroy their force or enable himself to answer them. His persistence was unrelenting, very seldom convinced of error, and never betraying a consciousness of being vanquished.

In contributing to the repeal of the Missouri compromise—that prolific source of vast political complications and consequences—it was sanctified to him by his cherished principle that the people were to be left "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way"; and though too slow to believe the border-ruffian violence by which the people of Kansas were subjugated, yet, when violence and fraud culminated in that great national swindle, the Lecompton constitution, he met and exposed it with the frankness and decision of a just and high-minded patriot.

Mr. Douglas supported the Democratic party as a national party. His attachments and sympathies were with the nation and its institutions which cherished him; and his ambition or aspiration was to be President of the United States, not of only a part of it. His defeat was not by the body of his party, but by the conspiracy of men long leaders in that party, no less ambitious than himself, but enemies of the nation, its institutions and its flag.

He became what he was, mainly through his own exertions; and the fact that they enabled him to acquire the distinction he possessed was due to the liberal institutions of this government; as to all which he was neither insensible nor ungrateful. When the southern traitors proceeded to the dismemberment of this government by open war, he, laying aside the party differences which separated him from the Executive, promptly, and with frank, patriotic devotion, tendered to the Executive his services and influence to sustain the government in the hour of its peril. I say "its peril," as it has long since outgrown all apprehension of foreign invasion; and domestic convulsions and internal war is its last trial. Into this service he entered with his usual devotion, activity, and eloquence, until arrested by fatal disease.

He has departed to his long home in the meridian of his manhood, and at a juncture in which he might have been of more than ordinary service to the country. Human judgment might say his death was untimely and premature. Human judgment is quite too feeble for such a subject; but how can we, even in human judgment, regard his departure as premature whose last public act was the crowning glory of his earthly career?

*ADDRESS OF MR. WALTON, OF VERMONT, IN HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, JULY 9, 1861.*

Mr. Speaker: While many states are to-day assembled, through their representatives in the Senate and this House, as mourners at the loss of one who has achieved far more than ordinary honors in the public service, and a measure of popular admiration and attachment accorded to but few statesmen of his years in any age or nation, there is one state distinguished from all others—I will not say by the sincerity of her grief, when all alike are sincerely grieved, but I may truly say for the singularity of her grief. A mother weeps for her son. His fame was national; Vermont remembers that hers is the parental share. His death, in the very crisis of a nation's fate, was a national calamity; but Vermont remembers that her loss is much more than the common share. Her son is dead. She clad herself in mourning on the announcement of what was, to human judgment, an untimely death; and all her children murmured the accents of sor-

row. It is fit, then, to-day, for Vermont to join in these funeral honors; and, by my colleagues, it has been deemed most fit that I, as the representative of the district in which the deceased senator was born, and the people among whom he was bred, should at least offer a memorial tribute, however humble it may be.

Stephen Arnold Douglas was born in Brandon, Rutland county, Vermont, on the 23rd day of April, 1813. Then, more than now, that was a rural town; and though the father was a physician of good culture and in high repute, by his early death his son was left to those privileges only which the poorest can command, and he spent more than one-third of his brief but eventful life attending the winter district school, and laboring steadily during the remainder of his time upon a farm and in a mechanic's shop. A single year of academical studies, being the eighteenth year of his life, and the year in which he received his bent and fixed his future professional career, completed the preparation given according to the then common usage of Vermont. It was no mean preparation; for, allowing all that may be due to the peculiar qualities of the man—to his keen and powerful intellect, his unyielding will, and that audacity of bravery which distinguished him in every conflict—it was in his case peculiarly true, that "the boy was father to the man"; that the bent acquired in his youth, from the institutions and influences which surrounded him, marked him for life.

The town in which he was born, like every other in Vermont, and indeed each of the many school districts in the town, was an independent corporation for its appropriate purposes, with what, in strict propriety, may be called legislative powers, such as taxation, and the regulation of various matters of importance to the town and district; and the legislature of each was not a representative body, but a pure democracy, in which all the citizens met on equal terms and with an equal right to free discussion and action. These are privileges which touch the interests of all, and therefore demand intelligence, and put to practical and constant use the intellectual and moral qualities of the people. The demand stimulates the best supply to be attained, and by books and newspapers, by public discussions and fire-side consultations, that supply is had. The fruit is an independent, intelligent, and energetic community, thoughtful of public affairs and

familiar with public duties; a community, of which every man may tender what he will to the common weal, and he will be sure to be weighed in a just balance and counted for what he is worth. From such a school—the same in kind as those from which Vermont sends her sons and daughters throughout the land—Stephen A. Douglas went out a Democrat, as every native born and bred Vermonter is a Democrat. I say it in the strictest and purest sense of the word, not in a party sense, though in his case that was true; and I have sometimes fancied that even then that chord was strung which in late years sounded the rallying cry of his party—"the freedom of the people to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."

His career has been brilliant beyond all other examples in our political history. Swift and unbroken was his march from the obscurity of his old rural home to the post of championship in the Senate. Every step was triumphal; and every triumph gave new confidence, courage, and strength, for a larger endeavor and a more brilliant victory. Never but once, and at the last, did he fail, as if in him was to be the proof of the all but divine insight of the greatest poet of our race: "Checks and disasters

Grow in the veins of actions highest rear'd."

No! not at the last. I recall the words. The last trial was indeed his greatest victory. It has been the boast of his friends that he was pre-eminently a party man; and he himself undoubtedly had the fullest faith in both the invincibility and virtue of the party of which he had become the recognized head. More than others, then, he was the idol for party homage, and more than others the target to receive the shafts of party prejudice and malignity. If this be true, sir, his last conflict was with himself—his last victory the noblest for his fame. The patriot conquered the partisan. The last cry from his trumpet tongue announced the supremacy of patriotism over party, and summoned the legions of his loyal friends to the rescue of the country; and his dying message to his children enjoined perpetual fidelity to the Constitution and the Union. We mourn, then, not alone that a great man has fallen—we bring not here alone the cheap offerings of personal or party grief—we marshal not ourselves as friends and foes, bound in common decency to suspend the clash of conflict

for the burial of the dead; but, bearing the heavy burden of a common woe, we mingle our tears over a patriot's grave.

Mr. Speaker, it is for others, who have been personal friends of the deceased, to utter the eulogies and sorrows of friendship; for others, who have been his associates in public life, to do justice to his public services; but for Vermont, let me say, that today there has been, and there can be, no measure of deserved praise that shall not touch her pride, and no wail of unfeigned sorrow that shall not reach her heart.

LETTER FROM JUDGE ROBERT M. DOUGLAS.

30 Oct., 1913.

HON. F. H. FARRINGTON,
Brandon, Vt.

My Dear Mr. Farrington:

I deeply appreciate your kindness in asking me to recall one or two incidents of my father's life tending to show its leading characteristics.

In my published letter to Mr. Bowman on the occasion of the semi-centennial celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates at Alton, I recalled the fact that my father was personally opposed to slavery, and showed his sincerity by refusing a valuable gift of slave property tendered him by my grandfather, Robert Martin, a wealthy planter of North Carolina; and that in consequence of this refusal, Colonel Martin provided in his will that in the event of the death of his daughter without children, the slaves refused by Judge Douglas should be sent to Liberia at the expense of his estate. Judge Douglas could have accepted the slaves, sold them, and invested their proceeds in real estate in Chicago; but this was not his idea of emancipation. He neither wanted a slave nor the proceeds of a slave; and he did not think it was any worse to *own* a slave than to *sell* one.

Stephen A. Douglas was elected by the General Assembly an Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois on February 15, 1841, being then twenty-seven years of age. At the ensuing July term Mr. Lincoln brought up on appeal his celebrated case of David Bailey, appellant vs. W. Cromwell et al., Executors of Nathan Cromwell, deceased, appellees. Mr. Lincoln appeared for Bailey, who was

resisting the collection of a note he had given for the purchase of a negro girl. There was no sufficient evidence that the girl was a slave, and her fate practically depended upon the legal presumption as to color. The Supreme Court held with Mr. Lincoln that: "It is a presumption of law that every person is free without regard to color." The opinion was written by the Chief Justice and concurred in by Judge Douglas, and indeed apparently by all the judges. It seems singular that Stephen A. Douglas sustained Abraham Lincoln in so important a principle of human freedom, and that S. T. Logan, for so many years Mr. Lincoln's law partner, should have appeared in that case against Mr. Lincoln, contending that a negro was legally presumed to be a slave without any other evidence than the color of his skin. This case was reported in 3 Scammon, page 71. Judge Douglas also concurred in the opinion of the court in *Kinney vs. Cook*, 3 Scammon, page 232. And yet my father was not an abolitionist as then understood. Having taken a solemn oath to obey and support the Constitution of the United States, he did not feel that he had any right to interfere with slavery wherever it lawfully existed under the sanction of the Federal Constitution. He did not believe that the Declaration of Independence referred to the freedom of slaves, because Jefferson, who wrote it, was himself a slaveholder, and every delegate who signed it represented a slave holding State. While several States had sought to prevent any further importation of slaves, and one or two had enacted some legislation looking to future emancipation, yet the fact remains that at that time negroes to a greater or less extent were actually held in slavery in every State of the Union. It is true Jefferson looked forward to the ultimate freedom of the negro; but he well knew that at that time forced emancipation would lead to civil war. None realized this more fully than my father, whose marriage to a Southern woman, and consequent visits to the South, brought him into personal contact with the slave holding class in their homes. For instance, Senator Reid of North Carolina, who served with my father for several years in the Senate, was his wife's first cousin and his personal friend, but his political opponent. My father had no misconception of the length and magnitude of the coming war. He told a distinguished citizen of Illinois, General John M. Palmer: "This will be a great war. It will last

(Private)

Washgton

Dec 5th 1860

my dear Sir

I have pleasure
with you request I should
consent to be copied from
the Congressional Globe an
abstract of the debate to
which you refer. I desire
it to you to be used
as you think proper.
I am grateful for the
interest you take in my
wellfare & reputation.

I regret to say that our
country is now in
imminent danger. I know
not that the Union can be
saved. I am prepared to

make my sacrifice on
extent with patriotism
& duty to save the Repub-
lic. We must put our
trust in God as our
only hope.

My truly yr friend
S. H. Douglas

Rev W. S. Mott.

for years. This continent will tremble under the tread of a million armed men." In his speech at Springfield five weeks before his death, he declared that: "The shortest way to peace is the most stupenduous and unanimous preparation for war." He dreaded civil war, but heart and brain re-echoed the slogan of his old hero, Andrew Jackson, "Our Federal Union; it must be preserved."

A quotation from a letter to me from the late Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, may here be appropriate. The Chief Justice says: "I knew your lamented father very well. Popular as he was, it has nevertheless seemed to me that the extraordinary abilities he possessed have never been fully appreciated. The slavery question compelled his attention, and so the comprehensive grasp of his mind did not get full opportunity for expression in other directions. But as time goes on I think the impression of his real greatness deepens."

Again expressing my grateful appreciation of your generous remembrance, I remain,

Most sincerely yours,

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF SENATOR DOUGLAS.

We are fortunate in having secured for publication the following hitherto unpublished interesting and important letters of Stephen A. Douglas. The first is an artful electioneering appeal in the guise of a friendly letter, delicately suggesting to his friend that his support of his candidacy for the U. S. Senate would be acceptable. The second is a letter to his confidential friend and representative, C. H. Lanphier, editor of the *State Register* at Springfield, Ill., on the subject of some campaign slanders which had been circulated, charging Douglas with being a slave holder and misrepresenting his slavery views. He encloses a suggested editorial in refutation of these charges. The third letter is dated from New York soon after his nomination for the presidency, and shows that at that time he had strong hopes of his election. All of these letters are interesting—as are all such letters of distinguished characters—in exhibiting his forms of expression and style of composition in intimate personal letters.

TO HON. HALL SIMS.

CHARLESTON, (ILL.) NOV. 14, 1846.

My Dear Sir:

I arrived here today on a visit to the Wabash Counties, yours included among the number; but have received such information as will compel me to proceed south immediately and will deprive me of the pleasure of seeing you. You are aware that my name will be presented to the Legislature this winter as a candidate for the U. S. Senate. My present object is not to electioneer with you; for our long acquaintance and your former friendship would seem to render this unnecessary. Yet I would have been glad to have seen you at your own house, & have spent a pleasant evening in talking over old times. I am not aware that I will have any opposition. There have been rumors that Col. McClernand will be a candidate, but I have just learned that he will not run. As he has declined I know of no candidate on the track but myself. I have heard some rumors that a secret arrangement has been entered into by a few persons to bring out a candidate after I leave for Washington; but I discredit such reports, for the unfairness of the thing would certainly defeat the success of the scheme. Of course I would dislike to be beaten by such an arrangement, as it would greatly injure my standing in the House and before the country. As I must be absent, I must rely solely on the activity and vigilance of my friends. I bear you in grateful remembrance for your friendship for me on former occasions, and expect now to be placed under additional obligations to you. I shall be happy to hear from you often, and to render you any service in my power at Washington.

Your friend,

Hon. Hall Sims.

S. A. DOUGLAS.

TO C. H. LANPHIER.

(Confidential)

WASHINGTON, AUGUST 3D, 1850.

Dear Sir:

I herewith send you a manuscript in strict confidence. If you deem it wise & prudent you can modify it to suit you & copy it &

publish it editorially. I leave it entirely to your discretion, but to be shown to no one else. I desire you to destroy this copy in my handwriting. You have doubtless seen the article in the Quincy Whig to which I refer. It will undoubtedly be published in all whig and abolition papers in the state. You can rely implicitly upon the law of the case as stated in the article I send, can find the laws of Mississippi to the same effect (in) the office of Secy of State. I believe the article was got up in Springfield or by Baker here & sent to Bledsoe who formerly edited the Journal & now is a professor in a college in Miss. I am not certain on this point so it will not do to charge it direct. It is true that my wife does own about 150 negroes in Miss & a cotton plantation. My father-in-law in his lifetime offered them to me & I refused to accept them. *This fact is stated in his will*, but I do not wish it brought before the public as the public have no business with my private affairs, and besides everybody would see that the information must have come from me. My wife has no negroes except those in Miss. We have other property in North Carolina, but no negroes. It is our intention however to remove all our property to Illinois as soon as possible. I put these facts in your possession & trust entirely to your discretion.

I will close this letter here & write you another by this mail about politics.

Your friend,

C. H. Lanphier, Esq.

S. A. DOUGLAS.

THE MANUSCRIPT ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

The Quincy Whig and other whig papers are publishing an article purporting to be copied from a Mississippi paper abusing Judge Douglas as the owner of 100 slaves, and at the same time accusing him of being a Wilmot Freesoiler. That the article originated in this state, and was sent to Mississippi for publication in order that it might be republished here we shall not question nor take the trouble to prove. The paternity of the article, the motive that prompted it, and the misrepresentations it contains are too obvious to require particular notice. If it had been written by a Mississipian he would have known that the statement in regard to the ownership of the negroes was

totally untrue. No one will pretend that Judge Douglas has any other property in Mississippi than that which was acquired in the right of his wife by inheritance upon the death of her father, and anyone who will take the trouble to examine the statutes of that State in the Secretary's office in this city will find that by the laws of Mississippi all the property of a married woman, whether acquired by will, gift, or otherwise, becomes her separate and exclusive estate and is not subject to the control or disposal of her husband nor subject to his debts. We do not pretend to know whether the father of Mrs. Douglas at the time of his death owned slaves in Mississippi or not. We have heard the statement made by the whigs but have not deemed it of sufficient importance to inquire into its truth. If it should turn out so in no event could Judge Douglas become the owner or have the disposal of or be responsible for them. The laws of the State forbid it, and also forbid slaves under such circumstances from being removed without or emancipated within the limits of the State. But one chief object in referring to the article in question was to correct a gross misrepresentation in regard to Judge Douglas's opinions upon the slavery question. He is charged with pretending to be a Free-soiler and a Wilmot Proviso man. There is not a man in the (state) who does not know this charge to be utterly false. He always voted against the Wilmot Proviso from the time it was first introduced until it was finally killed in the Senate by the ratification of the treaty. He has always advocated the right of the people in each State and Territory to decide the slavery question for themselves. When he voted for the prohibition of slavery in the territorial Bills this session he declared that he did so in obedience to instructions and that the vote was the vote of those who gave the instructions and not his own. His opinions and principles have been uniform and consistent upon this question. The Whigs combined with the Free-soilers to pass the instructions and now denounce him for yielding obedience to them.

TO C. H. LANPHIER.

(Private)

My Dear Sir:

NEW YORK, JULY 5TH, 1860.

It will be necessary for me to remain here some time to perfect our organization throughout the Union. In the mean time it is indis-

pensable that our friends shall organize *every county* in Illinois thoroughly and open the canvass with vigor and energy. No time must be lost, and no effort spared. Our friends here are in good spirits. We must make the war boldly against the *Northern abolitionists* and the *Southern Disunionists*, and give no quarter to either. We should treat the Bell and Everett men kindly and cultivate good relations with them, for they are Union men. According to present appearances Breckenridge cannot carry a single state, except South Carolina, and perhaps Miss. Bell will probably carry Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland & Delaware. We shall probably carry Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Alabama & Georgia in the South, and hope to get enough more in the free States to be elected by the people. *We can have no partnership with the Bolters.* If the election goes to the Ho of Reps, Lincoln, Bell and myself will be the *three* highest. If it goes to the Senate Hamlin & Johnson will be the *two* highest. So you see that Breckenridge & Lane can have no show in any event.

Richardson has just returned from New England, and reports *very favorable*. He thinks we will carry *Maine*, New Hampshire, Rhode Island & Conn. In New York our friends are confident of carrying the State, and also in New Jersey. We hope for the best in Penn.

Now organize & rally in Ill. & the North West. The changes in our favor are enormous in the East. Organize the State.

Yours truly,

C. H. Lanphier, Esq.

S. A. DOUGLAS.

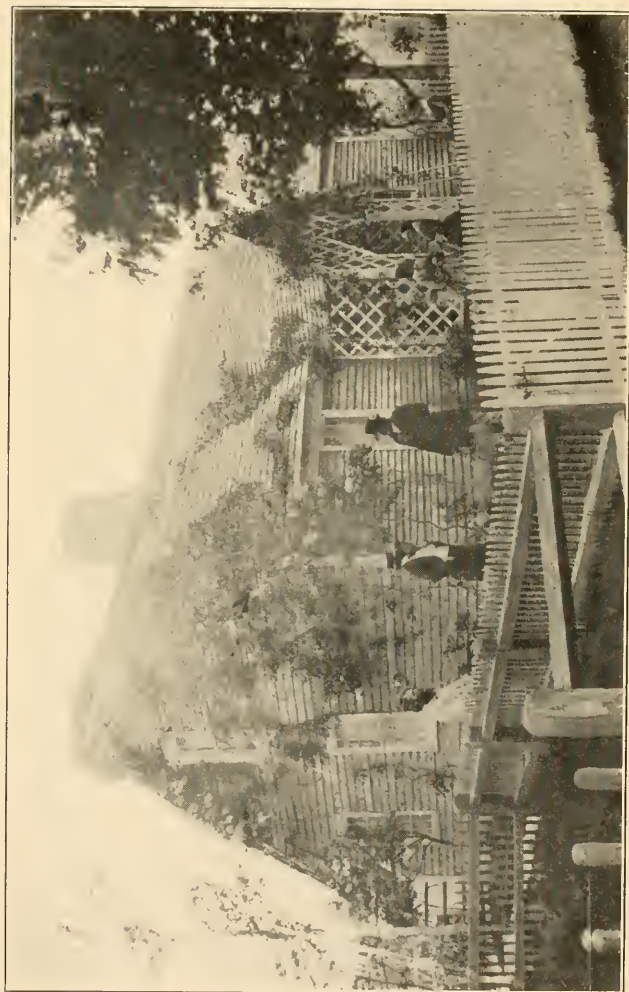
It may be of interest to compare Senator Douglas's rosy prognostications at the opening of the campaign with the actual results. Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, Breckenridge 72, Bell 39, and Douglas 12. Yet Douglas stood second in the popular vote, having almost as many votes as Breckenridge and Bell combined.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

SEPT. 1, 1838.

I this day commence this memorandum or journal of passing events for the purpose of refreshing my mind in future upon subjects that might otherwise be forgotten. It may be well to turn my attention to the past as well as the future, and record such facts as are within my recollection or have come to my knowledge, and may be interesting or useful to myself or others hereafter.

I learn from my mother that I was born in the town of Brandon, in the County of Rutland, and State of Vermont on the 23d day of April, 1813. My father, Stephen A. Douglas, was a graduate of Middlebury College, a physician by profession, and a man very much beloved by all who knew him. I only speak of my father as I have always heard others speak of him, for he died when I was only about two months old, and of course, I cannot recollect him. I have often been told that he was holding me in his arms when he departed this world. My mother, who thank God yet lives, was a Miss Sarah Fisk before she was married. My parents had but two children, my sister Sarah A. Douglas (who has since married Julius N. Granger, of Manchester Centre, Ontario County, N. Y.) and myself. Upon the death of my father, my mother moved to a small farm left her by her father about three miles north of my native village, and resided with her brother, Edward Fisk, who was an industrious, economical, clever old bachelor, and wanted some one to keep house for him. This arrangement suited them both as their farms joined, and each was so situated as to need the aid of the other. Here I lived with my mother and uncle upon the farm until I was about fifteen years of age, and then determined to select some other mode of living. I had no great aversion to working on a farm, nor was I much dissatisfied with my uncle, but thought him rather a hard master, and unwilling to give me those opportunities of improvement and education which I thought I was entitled to. I had enjoyed the benefits of a common school education three months each year, and had been kept diligently at work the rest of the time. I thought it a hardship that my uncle would have the use of my mother's farm and also the benefit of my labor without any other equivalent than my boarding and clothes. I therefore determined upon leaving my home



(From a photograph taken in 1855.)

THE BIRTHPLACE.

and my true friends, and see what I could do for myself in the wide world among strangers. My mother remonstrated, warned me of the dangers and temptations to which young men are exposed, and insisted upon my selecting some trade or engaging in some business that would give me a steady home and regular employment. I promised to comply with her wishes, that is, keep good company, or in other words, keep out of bad company, avoid all immoral and vicious practices, attend church regularly, and obey the regulations of my employer; in short I promised everything she wanted, if she would consent to my leaving home. Accordingly in the Spring of 1828, being about fifteen years of age, I bid my mother, sister and uncle farewell, and left home for Middlebury, about fourteen miles distant, and engaged to learn the cabinet making trade with one Nahum Parker. I put on my apron and went to work, sawing table legs from two inch plank, making wash stands, bedsteads, &c., &c. I was delighted with the change of home and employment. There was a novelty about it that rendered it peculiarly interesting. My labor furnished exercise for the mind as well as the body. I have never been placed in any situation or been engaged in any business which I enjoyed to so great an extent as the cabinet shop. I then felt contented and happy, and never aspired to any other distinction than that connected with my trade and improvements in the arts. Towards the end of the year I became dissatisfied with my employer in consequence of his insisting upon my performing some menial services in the house. I was willing to do anything connected with the shop but could not consent to perform the duties of a servant in the house. A difficulty soon arose between Mr. Parker and his wife and myself, and resulted in my leaving him and returning home. So much was I attached to the life of a mechanic, I could not content myself at home and soon got a situation in the shop of Deacon Caleb Knowlton, a cabinet maker in Brandon, my native village. I remained with my new employer about a year, and pursued my business strictly, as all the apprentices in the shop were required to do. Whilst I lived with Mr. Parker I formed a taste for reading, particularly political works, by being associated with a number of young men who spent their time nights and Sundays in reading and study. At this time politics ran high in the presidential election between General Jackson and J. Q. Adams.

My associate apprentices and myself were warm advocates of Gen. Jackson's claims, whilst our employer was an ardent supporter of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay. From this moment my politics became fixed, and all subsequent reading, reflection and observation have but confirmed my early attachment to the cause of Democracy.

In the winter of 1829 and 1830 I was taken sick and compelled to return home. My physicians informed me that my physical strength was too feeble to enable me to work at the cabinet business, and that it would be necessary for me to select some other occupation. Finding my health too feeble to work in the shop, I commenced going to school at the Academy in Brandon, under the direction of J. N. Chipman, and continued under his instruction until the fall of 1830, when I removed to Canandaigua, Ontario County, N. Y. My sister had previously married Julius N. Granger, and removed to his residence in Manchester Centre, Ontario County, N. Y., and this year, 1830, my mother married his father; and now the father and mother and only son and only daughter became united in one family where they continue to reside in the enjoyment of peace, plenty and happiness. Upon removing to the State of New York in December, 1830, I became a student in the Academy of Canandaigua under the superintendence of Prof. Henry Howe, where I continued until the latter part of 1832. Whilst connected with the Academy at Canandaigua I devoted myself zealously to my studies, the Greek and Latin languages, mathematics, rhetoric, logic, &c., and made considerable improvement.

About the 1st of January, 1833, I left the Academy and entered the office of Walter & Levi Hubbell as a student at law. I pursued my law studies diligently five days in the week, and the sixth I spent in reviewing my classical studies, until sometime in the month of June in that year. Finding myself in straightened pecuniary circumstances, and knowing my mother's inability to support me through a regular course of law studies, which would continue about four years longer, according to the statutes of New York, requiring a course of seven years classical and legal study before admission to the bar, I determined upon removing to the western country and relying upon my own efforts for a support henceforth. My mother and relatives remonstrated, urging that I was too young and inexperienced for such an adventure; but finding my resolution fixed and unchangeable, they

reluctantly consented, and kindly furnished me with three hundred dollars, the last of my patrimony, with which to pay my expenses. On the 24th of June, 1833 (being 20 years of age) I bid farewell to my friends, and started alone for the "great West," without having any particular place of destination in view. The first night I arrived at Buffalo, and thence took a trip to the Battle Grounds of Chippewa, Niagara, the Falls, &c., &c., and returning to Buffalo in a few days, I embarked on a steam boat for Cleveland, Ohio. Arriving at Cleveland I presented a few letters of introduction to some gentlemen of that place which I had received from Messrs. Francis Granger, Mark H. Sibley and other kind friends. By means of these letters I immediately became acquainted with Sherlock J. Andrews, Esq., an accomplished and intelligent gentleman and distinguished lawyer of that city. Being pleased with Cleveland and its prospects for business, and also with the few acquaintances I formed there, I immediately determined upon remaining there. By the statutes of Ohio I was required to pursue the study of law one year within the limits of that State before I could be admitted to practice. For this purpose Mr. Andrews was kind enough to offer me the use of his office and library, which I gladly accepted, and entered upon my studies with increased spirit and zeal. In a very few days, however, I found myself prostrate upon my bed with the bilious fever, and was confined until some time in the month of October, about four months. This sickness has often since been, and still continues to be, the subject of the most serious and profound reflection. My condition, the circumstances with which I was surrounded, the doubtful and sometimes hopeless issue, and especially my feelings, thoughts, and meditations, are all now fresh in my mind. I was among entire strangers. During the whole time I never saw a face I had ever seen before; I was so feeble as to be entirely helpless, unable even to turn myself in bed; I was advised by my physicians that there was no reasonable hope of my recovery, and that I ought to be prepared for my final dissolution which was then expected to take place from day to day. I was in the full enjoyment of my senses, perfectly conscious of my condition, and listened patiently and calmly to all they told me, and felt perfectly indifferent as to the result. I felt satisfied with the past and no particular hopes or apprehensions of the future. I thought I was on the dividing line between

this world and the next, must continue to exist in the one or the other, was willing to take either, and felt no choice which. In short, during that four months of severe sickness, I enjoyed more peace and contentment of mind, more perfect freedom from all care and trouble, except occasional bodily pain, and more negative happiness than during any other similar period of my life.

That such should have been the state of my mind under such peculiar and trying circumstances, has ever been to me the subject of curiosity, wonder and amazement. I can account for it upon no principle of philosophy or human nature, and now make this private record of the same for the purpose of seeing if future experience and observation shall solve the mystery.

Upon regaining my strength in the month of October so far as to be able to walk, I paid off all my bills occasioned by my sickness or otherwise and found I had about \$40.00 left. I then became reckless and adventurous, and determined to leave the place. Accordingly I took passage on a canal boat for Portsmouth on the Ohio River, thence on a steam boat to Cincinnati, thence to Louisville, thence to St. Louis, Mo., remaining in each place a few days, without any particular object in view, and ready to embark in any adventure adapted to my taste and feeling which should present itself.

At St. Louis I soon found my small pittance of money was about exhausted, and that I must immediately engage in some employment there which would defray my expenses, or go to some place not far distant where I could do so. My first effort was to obtain a situation in some law office in the city, where I could write and perform office labor sufficient to pay my expenses, and during the rest of the time pursue my law studies. Here a difficulty presented itself which I had not foreseen and guarded against. I was more than a thousand miles from home, or from any person whom I knew or who knew me, and had no letters of introduction. Perceiving this difficulty I felt great delicacy in offering my services. Stern and impending necessity staring me in the face, I resolved at all hazards to make the effort. I first called on Mr. Bates, introduced myself and told him my business and situation. He received and treated me kindly and politely; and informed me that he had nothing for me to do; but would be happy to see me at his office, &c., for all which I tendered him my grateful acknowledgements and retired.

After making a similar effort with like success with Mr. Spaulding, I paid my tavern bill and left the city, going to Jacksonville, Illinois.

At Jacksonville I formed a few acquaintances and attempted to get into business of some kind, say teaching school, clerking, &c., but without success. When I arrived at Jacksonville I had left one dollar and twenty-five cents in money, and finding that would not pay my board more than one day at the tavern, I sold a few school books I had with me for a few dollars, and took up my lodgings at a private house, Mr. Heslip's, whose family I have known and esteemed ever since. One of my first acquaintances at Jacksonville was Murray McConnel, Esq., a lawyer of some reputation, who advised me to go to Pekin on the Illinois River and open a law office. I informed him that I had never practiced law, had not yet procured my license, nor had I any library. He informed me that he would furnish me with a few books, such as I would stand in the most need of immediately, and wait for the pay until I was able to pay him, and did so to the amount of \$30.00 worth, which I received and subsequently paid him for. He told me that a license was a matter of no consequence, that I could practice before a justice of the peace without one, and could get one at any time I desired to do so. I concluded to take his advice, and consequently packed up my things and went to Meredosia on the Illinois River to take a steam boat to Pekin. Arriving at the river, I waited one week for a steam boat, and then learned that the only boat which was expected up the river that season had blown up at Alton, and consequently there would be no boat up until the next spring. What was now to be done? After paying my bill at the tavern, I had but fifty cents left. I could find nothing to do there, and had no money to get away with. Something must be done, and that soon. I enquired as to the prospect of getting a school, and was told by a farmer residing in the country a few miles that he thought that I could obtain one at Exeter, about ten miles distant; and if I would go home with him that night, he would go to Exeter with me the next day. I accepted his invitation, left my trunk at Meredosia, rode behind the farmer on the same horse to his home, and the next day we both went to Exeter. He introduced me to several citizens who were very polite and kind; but did not think a school could be

obtained there; but if I would go to Winchester, eight or ten miles further they had no doubt I would succeed in obtaining one. I thought this was rather poor encouragement; but what was to be done? I was out of money, and still in too feeble health to perform any very arduous labor; and must do something to live; for I was too proud to beg. I therefore determined to go to Winchester and make another effort. Accordingly I parted with my friend, the kind hearted, hospitable farmer and taking my cloak on my arm, went to Winchester on foot that night. Arriving in town, I went to the only tavern in the place, introduced myself to the landlord and told him I wished to stop a few days with him to which he readily assented. The landlord introduced me to the citizens generally, who seemed pleased with the idea of a new school in their little town, and in a few days obtained for me a subscription list of about forty scholars. In the meantime there was, on the second day after my arrival, an administrator's sale, at which all the personal property of a dead man's estate was to be disposed of at auction, and the administrator applied to me to be clerk at the auction, make out the sale bills, draw the notes, &c., which I very cheerfully consented to do, and performed the duty in the best style I knew how, and received five dollars for two days labor therein. About the 1st of December I commenced my school, and closed it about the 1st of March, having during the whole time a goodly number of scholars, and giving as I believe general satisfaction to both scholars and parents. During this period I attended to considerable law business before justices of the peace, and formed an extensive acquaintance with the people in that part of the country. There was considerable political excitement growing out of the veto of the U. S. Bank and the removal of the deposits by Gen. Jackson, or rather the removal of the Secretary of the Treasury because he would not remove the deposits, and the appointment of Mr. Taney in his place who did remove them from the vaults of the U. S. Bank. One evening at the Lyceum, Mr. Josiah Lambert, a lawyer of some distinction from Jacksonville, made a speech, denouncing the leading measures of Gen. Jackson's administration, and especially the veto and removal of the deposits. He characterized the first of those acts as arbitrary and tyrannical, and the last as dangerous and unconstitutional. Being a great admirer of Gen. Jackson's public and political character and a

warm supporter of the principles of his administration, I could not remain silent when the old hero's character, public and private, was traduced, and his measures misrepresented and denounced. I was then familiar with all the principles, measures and facts involved in the controversy, having been an attentive reader of the debates in Congress and the principal newspapers of the day, and having read also with great interest, the principal works in this country; such as the debates in the convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, and the convention of the several states on the adoption of the Constitution, the *Federalist*, John Adams' work denominated a defense of the American Constitution, the opinions of Randolph, Hamilton and Jefferson on the Constitutionality of the Bank, and the History of the Bank as published by Gales & Seaton, Jefferson's Works, &c. I had read all of them and many other political works with great care and interest and had my political opinions firmly established. I engaged in the debate with a good deal of zeal and warmth, and defended the administration of Gen. Jackson and the cause of the Democratic party in a manner which appeared highly gratifying to my political friends, and which certainly gave me some little reputation as a public speaker; much more than I deserved.

When the first quarter of my school expired I settled my accounts, and finding that I had made enough to pay my expenses, I determined to remove to Jacksonville, the county seat of the same (Morgan) county, and commence the practice of the law. In the month of March I applied to the Hon. Samuel D. Lockwood, one of the justices of the Supreme Court, and after a short examination, obtained a license, and immediately opened an office, being then less than twenty-one years of age. During the first week of my residence at Jacksonville the Whig (alias Federal party) called a county meeting, and made speeches and passed resolutions denouncing the administration in the severest terms, and more especially in relation to the bank and currency question. The next week the Democrats called a meeting, one of the most numerous and spirited I have ever witnessed in that county. It was composed principally of farmers and mechanics, men who are honest in their political sentiments and feel a deep interest in the proper administration of the public affairs, although but few of them are accustomed to public discussion. It so happened that at

that time out of twelve members of the bar there was not a Democrat among them. This meeting I attended, and at the earnest solicitation of my political friends (for personal friends I had not then had time to form), I consented to make a speech. The excitement was intense, and I was rather severe in my remarks upon the opposition; so much so as to excite the bitter hostility of the whole of that party, and of course the warm support of my own party. The next week the Patriot, the organ of the opposition printed and published by James G. Edwards, Esq., devoted two entire columns of that paper to me and my speech, and continued the same course for two or three successive weeks. The necessary consequence was that I immediately became known to every man in the county, and was placed in such a situation as to be supported by one party and opposed by the other. This notoriety, acquired by accident and founded on no peculiar merit, proved highly serviceable to me in my profession; for within one week thereafter I received for collection demands to the amount of thousands of dollars from persons I had never seen or heard of, and who would not probably have known that such a person as myself was in existence, but for the attacks upon me in the opposition papers. So essential was the service thus rendered me by my opponents that I have sometimes doubted whether I was not morally bound to pay the editor for his abuse according to the usual prices of advertisements. This incident illustrates a principle which it is important for men of the world and especially politicians to bear in mind. How foolish, how impolitic, the indiscriminate abuse of political opponents whose humble condition or insignificance prevents the possibility of injury, and who may be greatly benefited by the notoriety thus acquired. I firmly believe this is one of the frequent and great errors committed by the political editors of the present day. Indeed, I sincerely doubt whether I owe most to the kind and efficient support of my friends, and no man similarly situated ever had better and truer friends, or to the violent, reckless and imprudent opposition of my enemies. Certain I am that without both of these causes united, I never could have succeeded as well as I have done. But I must forbear; for I find that I am philosophizing, which is far from my present purpose.

During the summer of 1834 my time was about equally divided between law and politics, reading and practicing the one and preaching the other. There was a general election pending for governor, congressman, and members of the Legislature, in which I felt no ordinary interest and took an active part. I supported the Democratic candidates; William Kinney for governor against Gen. Joseph Duncan, and Wm. L. May for Congress against Benjamin Mills, and the Democratic ticket for the Legislature in my own county. We lost our governor; elected our congressman; and a part of our legislative ticket.

At this time John J. Hardin, Esq., (now Gen. Hardin) held the office of state's attorney, under an appointment from Governor Reynolds, which then had two years to run. He had procured this appointment through the aid and influence of Col. James Evans, Col. William Weatherford, Capt. John Wyatt and other leading Democrats, every one of whom he opposed at the next election after the appointment. Capt. Wyatt was the only one of them who succeeded in his election, and was so indignant at Hardin for what he called his ingratitude, that he determined upon removing him from office at all hazards. The opposition having succeeded in electing their governor, there was no hope from that quarter; and the only resort left was to repeal the law conferring the appointment upon the governor, and make the office elective by the Legislature. At the request of Capt. Wyatt, I wrote the bill, and on the second day of the session of the Legislature which commenced on the first Monday in December, 1864, he introduced his bill, and also another bill written by myself making the county recorder's election by the people, instead of being appointed by the governor. I felt no peculiar interest in these bills any further than I thought them correct in principle, and desired to see them pass because my friends warmly supported them. Both the bills were violently opposed by the opposition (alias Federal party) and advocated by a large majority of the Democrats, and finally passed by a small majority. When sent to the Council of Revision (composed of the governor and judges of the Supreme Court) for approval, they were both vetoed; the former as unconstitutional, and the latter because it was inexpedient. Then came a desperate struggle between the friends and opponents of the bills, and especially the state's attorney bill. The opposition charged that its only object was to repeal

Hardin out of office in order to elect myself in his place, and that the whole movement had its origin in Wyatt's malice and my selfishness and ambition. I will here remark, and most solemnly aver it to be true, that up to the time this charge was made against me, I never had conceived the idea of being a candidate for the office, nor had any friend suggested or hinted to me that I could or ought to receive it. But from that moment forward, the friends of the bill declared that, in the event they passed the bill over the heads of the council, I should be elected to the office. At this time I did not desire to be a candidate, for I had no reason to suppose I could be elected over so formidable an opponent who had been a long time a resident of the state, had fought in the Black Hawk war, and was well acquainted with the members. My short residence in the state, want of acquaintance, experience in my profession and age (being only twenty-one years old), I considered insuperable objections. My friends, however, thought differently, passed the bill, and elected me on the first ballot by four votes majority.

I will here remark that although I wrote this bill and reaped first fruits under it, and was inclined at that time to think it was correct in principle and ought to become a law; yet subsequent experience, observation and reflection have convinced me of my error; and I now believe that all Legislative elections ought to be abolished, and the officers either appointed by the governor and senate, or elected by the people. In this remark I do not mean to include clerks of our courts, whose appointments, I am inclined to think, ought to be vested in the judges.

Immediately upon my election as state's attorney I procured all the standard works upon criminal law within my reach, such as Archbold, Chitty, Roscoe, McNally, Hale's Pleas of the Crown, &c., &c., and devoted myself to the study of them with a determination of making myself master of that branch of my profession. My official duties being exclusively within the line of my profession, I now applied myself assiduously to study and practice. How far I succeeded in this, I must leave to others, who are more impartial judges than myself. An amusing circumstance occurred in McLean county at the first court after my election as prosecuting attorney. The grand jury had found a large number of indictments for different offences, and

I had been engaged all night in writing them, in great haste, in order to discharge the grand jury and enable them to return to their families. After the grand jurors were discharged John T. Stuart, Esq., came into court and moved to quash all the indictments, although he had been employed in but a small number of the cases. He stated his reasons for quashing the indictments, which were that they were presented by the "grand jurors in and for the county of McClean" when in fact there was no such county as "McClean," the true name of the county being "McLean." The manner of making this motion was very pompous and accompanied with some rather contemptuous remarks imputing ignorance to the writer of the indictments. Contrasting my youth and inexperience with the long practice and reputation of the opposing counsel, I considered his conduct extremely ungenerous, and more especially in a county where he was well acquainted with the people and I was an entire stranger. The moment the motion to quash was made and the objection was pointed out, it struck my mind as being fatal to all the indictments, and had it been done in a respectful and courteous manner, I should have made no objection to the indictments being quashed. When the judge (Stephen T. Logan) asked me if I had anything to say in support of the indictments, I told him I did not consider it necessary as yet to say anything, Mr. Stuart having made the motion and having the affirmative of the question, the burden of proof of course rested upon him. That I presumed the court would not take official notice that I had not spelled the name of the county right until some evidence should be produced, it would then be time enough for me to rebut such evidence. The court decided that it could not officially take notice of the precise mode of spelling the name of the county, and gave Mr. Stuart time to procure the statute creating and naming the county. My object was now accomplished; knowing there was none of the statutes to be found in the county, and that it would require a good deal of traveling, trouble and expense to procure one, which would sufficiently rebuke the gentleman's insolence; but not doubting that when the statute was produced, it would show that the defect in the indictments was fatal and they ought to be quashed. After a lapse of two days the statute was procured from an adjoining county, and read to the court by Mr. Stuart, when to his astonishment, and I will

say to the astonishment of myself and the whole bar, it appeared that the name of the county in the indictment was right, and that the learned gentleman did not know how to spell the name of the county he had practiced in for years. It turned the joke upon him so completely, and excited so much mirth and humor at his expense, that he could not conceal his chagrin and mortification. The indictments were all sustained by the court, much to my gratification. Some time afterwards I took the pains to compare this printed statute with the enrolled bill in the office of the secretary of state, and found there was a misprint, the true name of the county being McLean. This small incident, although of no consequence of itself, has been an instructive lesson to me in the practice of law ever since, to wit: Admit nothing, and require my adversary to prove everything material to the success of his cause. Every lawyer's experience teaches him that many good causes are saved and bad ones gained by a strict observance of this rule. During the time I held the office of state's attorney, I conducted many important criminal prosecutions, and as far as I have been able to learn, acquitted myself in a manner satisfactory to my friends and the public generally.

In August, 1836, I was elected to the Legislature from the county of Morgan. The contest was a very spirited one, conducted almost solely upon national politics and party grounds. Each party ran a full ticket and strived to elect the whole ticket. The stump speeches were made, principally by Gen. John J. Hardin on behalf of the Whig ticket, and by myself in support of the Democratic ticket. The contest resulted in the election of five Democrats and one Whig (Gen. Hardin).

NOTE. The original of the above sketch of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, is in a small blank book found among his private papers. It is in his own handwriting, hastily written and evidently never revised or continued. It is dated September 1st, 1838, when he was only twenty-five years of age, and does not extend beyond his service in the Legislature. It was evidently never intended for publication but may now have some public interest as the candid statement of the boyhood and early manhood of a young man who had bravely and successfully faced life's battle; and who was writing frankly purely for his own future information, and at a time when

the circumstances were yet fresh in his mind. Autobiographies are generally carefully written in old age when the circumstances of early youth have grown dim, and perhaps unconsciously colored by the struggles and experiences of after life.

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS.

March 5, 1909.

ESTIMATES OF DOUGLAS, FROM AUTHORS AND ORATORS.

To gain an adequate appreciation of the estimation in which Douglas was held by authors and statesmen, who were his contemporaries and personally acquainted with him, or of a later generation who have made a special study of his career, it is necessary to read many books. We give below some brief quotations, which will show what those best qualified to judge thought of him. They are from men of all shades of political opinion, except the southern slaveholding class. The first ten are from addresses delivered in the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives soon after his death:

The sublime spectacle of twenty million people rising as one man in vindication of constitutional liberty and free government, when assailed by misguided rebels and plotting traitors, is to a considerable extent due to his efforts. His magnanimous and patriotic course in this trying hour of his country's destiny was the crowning act of his life.—Lyman Trumbull, Senator from Illinois.

In my judgment, he was in his time the greatest living master of forensic discourse—Senator McDougall, of California.

By his voluntary acts he furnished the strongest possible evidence that with him the preservation of the Union and the Constitution were paramount to all other considerations.—Senator Nesmith, of Oregon.

I would be unjust to my feelings should I fail to declare how deep and sincere was my sorrow for the loss of this distinguished Senator, and especially at a time when he had the power, to a greater extent than any other living man, to render valuable and important services to our perplexed and imperiled country, and the temper and disposition of mind to use that power as it should have been used by a patriot and statesman.—Senator Browning, of Illinois.

He was a party man, but he loved his country better than his party.—Senator Anthony, of Rhode Island.

Dying at an age where the usefulness of statesmen usually begins, he leaves a fame that will outlive eulogies and survive monuments.—Representative Richardson, of Illinois.

As an *extempore* speaker, his capabilities were transcendent and amazing, and unquestionably place him in the first rank of debaters of any age or country.—Representative McClelland, of Illinois.

In all my intercourse of an intimate character with him, I found him to be an honorable and patriotic man, disinterested and noble in his patriotism, and ready to sacrifice his personal interests for the good of his country.—Representative Crittenden, of Kentucky.

Oh for a Clay, a Webster, a Douglas, in this great ordeal of constitutional freedom! While the country is entangled by these serpents of revolution, we shall miss the giant,—the Hercules of the West—whose limbs had grown sinewy in strangling the poisonous brood.—Representative S. S. Cox, of Ohio.

Above and beyond all his other great qualities, his love of country, his devotion to the Constitution, to the Union, to the glorious flag which is its emblem, were the most prominent traits of Senator Douglas's character.—Representative Law, of Indiana.

When war grew out of the conflicting pretensions of the Union and the Confederacy, he took nobly and heartily the side of his whole country.—Horace Greeley: *The American Conflict*.

In the course he pursued and still purposed to pursue, he was unquestionably actuated by patriotic motives. . . . His was the patriotic course, and he exhibited his earnest purpose to preserve the unity and life of the nation.—Henry Wilson: *The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*.

His last words to the public have a breadth of patriotism worthy of the noblest statesmanship.—William Henry Smith: *A Political History of Slavery*.

From the death of Clay till the presidential election of 1860 the most resonant voice of them all was the voice of Stephen Arnold Douglas. It is scarcely too much to say that during the whole period the centre of the stage was his, and his the most stirring part.—William Garrott Brown: *Stephen Arnold Douglas*.

While Lincoln lost a valuable coadjutor and the country an important factor in the work of sustaining national unity, the Democratic organization, thoroughly broken as it was by the war, was deprived of the man who above all others would have been competent and courageous in bringing about its re-establishment. It is probable that, had he lived, Douglas's career would have been as significant in

later American history as it was in the critical decade of 1850-1860.—Henry Parker Willis: *Stephen A. Douglas*.

Great as is the fame of Mr. Lincoln, it may be doubted whether his name would ever have been known to any considerable degree beyond the limits of the State of Illinois, but for his proving himself to be able to meet and successfully cope with the Senator in what are known as the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and it may be doubted whether President Lincoln could have been successful in the mighty work of maintaining the integrity of the Nation but for the timely support of Senator Douglas.—Clark E. Carr: *Stephen A. Douglas, His Life, Public Services, &c.*

In all his long Congressional career there is nothing that re-ounds more to Douglas's everlasting credit than his willingness to defend the policy of his successful rival, while men of Lincoln's own party were doubting. . . .

No one, it may be safely affirmed, could have so steeled the hearts of men in southern Illinois for the death grapple. . . .

The greatest of War Democrats. . . .

Had he but lived to temper justice with mercy, what a power for good might he not have been in the days of reconstruction.—Allen Johnson: *Stephen A. Douglas, a Study in American Politics*.

Mr. Douglas had wished to be President, but was much more powerful in his real place of leadership on the floor of the Senate.
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Mr. Douglas, no mere partisan, after all, but a man steadfast in the principles upon which he had professed to act.—Woodrow Wilson; *History of the American People*.

It is hardly too much to say of those speeches* that they were decisive of a unified North in the "impending conflict," and that they constituted beyond comparison the greatest individual service rendered to the Union by any public man, not even excepting Mr. Lincoln's, in the crucial days following the attack on Fort Sumter. In their far-reaching results they have rarely been equalled and never surpassed by any forensic effort of ancient or modern times.—James Harrison Wilson: *Under the Old Flag*.

Without the aid of Douglas, the "Crime against Kansas," so eloquently depicted by Mr. Sumner, would have been complete. With his aid it was prevented. . . .

With danger to the Union his early affections and the associations of his young life had come back. He remembered that he was a native of New England, that he had been reared in New York, that

*At Springfield, Ill., April 25, 1861, and at Chicago, in June following.

he had been crowned with honors by the generous and confiding people of Illinois. He believed in the Union of the States, and he stood by his country with a fervor and energy of patriotism which enshrined his name in the history and in the hearts of the American people. His death created the profoundest impression in the country, and the Administration felt that one of the mighty props of the Union had been torn away.—James G. Blaine: *Twenty Years of Congress*.

Many other quotations similar to the above might be printed here, but enough has been given to accomplish our object. We subjoin one more, which gives a view of his personality by a writer who was well acquainted with him.

He had a full and rich voice, was fluent in speech, but spoke with deliberation and perfect distinctness of enunciation, and was thoroughly self-possessed. He was short in stature, but he was broad-shouldered and deep-chested, and had a large and finely developed head. I used to think that his head, though smaller than Webster's was modelled after the same pattern.

Mr. Douglas's manner, though easy and utterly unconstrained, was dignified and urbane. Sometimes, when he was speaking with animation, he had a good natured, earnest, lionlike look, blended with the utmost simplicity and illuminated with a high degree of intelligence. On such an occasion, I doubt if a stranger, who heard him for the first time and did not even know his name, could have listened to him ten minutes without being strongly attracted by his engaging manner, nor without at least beginning to feel a personal regard for him. He was still more winning in private intercourse. There was not the least taint of snobbishness about him; he was utterly devoid of pretentiousness. He never put on what vain and self-conscious Senators imagine to be airs of Senatorial dignity. His dignity was of that solid, genuine, American sort which can unconsciously take care of itself without airs of any kind.—Oliver Duer: *Great Senators of the United States*.

Mr. Douglas today, in a clear, emphatic, and, I fear, prophetic voice, painted the horrors of a war we are bringing on ourselves, and was equally severe on the radicals of both sides. There is something very impressive about him, and I felt as if I were listening to the plain, unvarnished truth. Mrs. Douglas was in the gallery of the Senate looking the pride and confidence she felt in her husband's talents, though there is a modesty in her manner in charming contrast with her truly magnificent appearance.—Diary of Mrs. Eugene McLean, in *Harper's Magazine* for January, 1914.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

A FEW WORDS IN CONCLUSION.

Stephen A. Douglas was one of the greatest men of his time in the United States, and in some respects the greatest. As a Democratic statesman and leader he was without a rival.

The great issue in the years when Douglas flourished was the slavery question. All others paled into insignificance before it. On this question he was not a dodger or trimmer. He took his position and maintained it bravely and consistently to the end. What that position was may best be known from his own statement of it, as it appears in his suggested editorial for the *Illinois State Register*, as printed for the first time in his own words in this volume, and as he put it in the first of the debates with Lincoln at Ottawa, Ill., August 21, 1858:

I do not hold that because the negro is our inferior, therefore he ought to be a slave. On the contrary, I hold that humanity and Christianity both require that the negro shall have and enjoy every right, every privilege and every immunity consistent with the safety of the society in which he lives. You and I are bound to extend to our inferior and dependent beings every right, every privilege, every facility and immunity consistent with the public good. The question then arises, What rights and privileges are consistent with the public good? That is a question which each State and each Territory must decide for itself.

This was known as the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and certainly appeared fair and reasonable if one did not go far below the surface in his consideration of the problem. He adhered to it in the matter of the so-called Lecompton constitution of Kansas, when he knew that the certain result of his stand would be the embitterment of the South against him, and the loss of all political support from that section. The Lecompton constitution provided for the protection of slavery in Kansas, and was adopted fraudulently and contrary to the wishes of a large majority of the voters of that territory. For that reason Douglas opposed its ratification by Congress, though, as he stated, he cared nothing whether slavery was established there or not, so long as the matter was settled in accordance with the views of a majority of the voters there.

Douglas's great error lay in his failure to realize that slavery was fundamentally wrong, and could not be permitted to exist in

any state or territory, notwithstanding that a majority of its citizens might favor it, any more than polygamy, arson or assassination could be recognized as an established legal institution in any state.

The name of Douglas is probably associated in the minds of most people today with the great Lincoln-Douglas debates in Illinois in 1858, when Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln appeared before the people as rival candidates for the United States Senatorship. While the subsequent renown of Lincoln became so great as to overshadow that of Douglas, so that Lincoln may now appear to be the central figure of those debates, it should not be forgotten that at the time they occurred Douglas was a man of national reputation, while Lincoln was hardly known outside the borders of his state. He acquired fame by his ability to hold his own with such a master of political debate as Douglas.

The crowning glory of Douglas's career came after his defeat for the presidency in 1860, followed by the attack on Fort Sumter. His attitude then was noble and patriotic in the highest degree. He exerted his influence on the side of the Union and against rebellion and secession, without hesitation and without reserve. He upheld the hands of the President in his efforts to suppress the rebellion till his untimely death, and had he lived would undoubtedly have been one of the strongest bulwarks of the administration. Douglas's decided stand settled the question of the attitude of the great mass of the northern Democrats. His more than 1,300,000 devoted followers rallied to the support of the administration and the defense of the Union. What would have been the final outcome if Douglas had favored the South or had been lukewarm in his stand for the Union, can only be conjectured. But there is no question that the result would have been disastrous.

What would have happened if Douglas had lived to the close of the war? This question, of course, cannot be answered with certainty. But it is not improbable that had Douglas been elected President and lived, there would have been no war. He would have been more or less acceptable to both sides and all factions, and might have had influence enough with both to bring about an adjustment of the questions in dispute without a resort to arms. Had he lived after his defeat, there is no doubt that he would have held a high position in the

councils of the administration. John W. Forney, an intimate friend of Douglas, in his *Anecdotes of Public Men*, states "by authority," that had he lived he would have been called into the administration of President Lincoln, or placed in one of the highest military commands. And it is surely reasonable to conclude that when the Republicans were casting about for a war Democrat to take the vice-presidential nomination in 1864, this "greatest of war Democrats" would have been their choice, and that on President Lincoln's death he, instead of Andrew Johnson, would have become President, and thus realized his long cherished ambition.

APPENDIX

*SPEECH OF HONORABLE FRANK L. FISH
SUPERIOR JUDGE OF VERMONT
ON THE LIFE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS*

*ADDRESS OF HON. F. L. FISH DELIVERED BEFORE THE
STUDENTS OF NORWICH UNIVERSITY AT NORTH-
FIELD, APRIL 23, 1913.*

Six years ago I spoke to the students of Norwich University on Abraham Lincoln, a Study in History. Tonight I have come to speak on Stephen A. Douglas, the Other Study. It is probably fortunate for me that the young men whom I then addressed have gone out to meet that measure of success that so justly falls to the lot of the graduates of this institution and are not now within the sound of my voice. To the few who then heard me, who are now present, I beg to make a retraction. On the occasion referred to, it seemed to me that for the sake of gaining the presidency Douglas had compromised himself on the subject of slavery and had been inconsistent in his political career. To such thought I then gave utterance. After a careful study and more impartial inquiry I ask permission to revise the former judgment. Although it must be confessed that he was wrong in his theory of the solution of the perplexed question of slavery legislation, he ought to be credited with being honest with this important question, and he was not more inconsistent than have been many of the great statesmen of the English-speaking race on this and the other side of the Atlantic.

One hundred years ago today in a little story-and-a-half house, still standing in the Village of Brandon, Stephen A. Douglas was born. Fifty-two years ago this month he made his last speech for the suppression of the Rebellion and the integrity of the Union. Fifty-two years ago the coming June he passed away. Young as he was, for more than a quarter of a century he had been in public life. During the decade from 1850 to 1860 he was the most conspicuous leader of the Democratic party. After the passing of Webster and Clay in the early fifties he was the greatest debater in the national forum. Viewed from the standpoint of political activities, of forensic powers and accomplishments and of capacity for leadership, he was the most remarkable man that Vermont ever produced. Douglas died at a time when his country most needed his patriotic services. Had he lived to the close of the struggle that he saw the beginning of, his name would have been given a shining page on the nation's history.

The Reaper came too soon. Before the onward march of the great character who was his successful rival half a century ago his name and fame were soon forgotten, and he is now recalled because of Lincoln's relation to the joint debates. It was Douglas's name then that gave the debates a national significance and impressed the name of Lincoln upon the popular mind. The state of his birth is ignorant of his career and one who would discuss intelligently his remarkable life must recount the incidents of his rise to national prominence, before indulging in eulogy. Fortunate it is that the same years which have brought oblivion to his name have produced a generation of men who can look without prejudice upon the great man whose measures for the settlement of the slavery question did not meet with the favor of our fathers. To view Douglas fairly from the present point of time he must be considered in the light of the age in which he lived; he should be viewed from the broad standpoint of a New England boyhood, a young manhood passed on the prairies of Illinois, and a wedded life pervaded by the gentle culture of Southern womanhood.

Who was Stephen A. Douglas? He was a descendant of William Douglas, who was the first of the family by that name to cross the ocean from Scotland to America. In 1645 a son was born to William Douglas in Boston, from whom descended in 1750 Benajah Douglas, the grandfather of Stephen A. Douglas, who settled in Rensselaer County, New York. Benajah married Martha Arnold, a descendent of Governor William Arnold of Rhode Island, whom tradition says was a soldier in the Revolutionary army. Benajah moved to Brandon, Vermont, and purchased a four hundred acre farm where he resided until his death. In physical appearance Stephen A. Douglas resembled his grandfather. Five times he was elected a selectman of Brandon and as many times honored by an election to the Legislature.

The outline of Dr. Stephen A. Douglas is far less distinct than that of his father, but it appears that he was born at Stephentown, Rensselaer County, New York, where he spent no more than his boyhood. He married Sally Fisk of Brandon, the daughter of a well-to-do farmer, of which marriage were born a son and a daughter. Doctor Douglas was a physician of skill and promise, but his career was cut short by a sudden stroke which overcame him as he held his infant son, Stephen A., in his arms.

Following the death of her husband, Douglas's mother took him with his sister to the farm in Brandon which she and her brother had inherited from their father, and here she and the children resided for fourteen years, until the marriage of the brother and the birth of a son, whose claims upon the father prompted the latter to renounce his intention to give his nephew a college education. Bitterly disappointed over this, Douglas at once left his uncle's roof, walked fifteen miles to Middlebury and secured employment as a cabinet maker in the shop of Nahum Parker, where he remained for a year. At the end of this time he abandoned Middlebury and entered the shop of Deacon Caleb Knowlton at Brandon. At the end of another year ill health compelled him to abandon this kind of employment. Then followed his enrollment as a student at Brandon Academy, his avowed purpose being to prepare for a profession. He remained a student at this institution for about a year.

Wedding bells rang in another change in Douglas's fortunes. This time his sister married and moved to Ontario County, New York. Their mother, who married the father of her daughter's husband, Gehazi Granger, soon followed. Thither Douglas went, resuming his studies at the Canandaigua Academy. He was now seventeen years old and showed proficiency in Latin and Greek, took a prominent part in literary societies and distinguished himself in debate. Here he became an ardent defender of Democracy, an apt pupil in practical politics. His lively inquisitiveness marked him from his comrades. His remarkable talents were displayed in a capacity to acquire learning by indirection as much as from the books. It was apparent, too, that he had forensic gifts that were exceptional.

In the spring of 1833, when he was twenty years old, against the remonstrance of his mother and other relatives, he started for the West, stopping first at Cleveland, where he suffered a long illness which prevented his entering the law office of Sherlock J. Andrews, Esq., who offered to take him as a student. The entreaties of friends could not persuade him, although broken with sickness, to return to the East. He had set his face westward and thither his destiny had decreed he should go. With but forty dollars left he began the journey, visiting Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis, and at last arriving at Jacksonville, Morgan County, Illinois, with but thirty-seven cents

in his pocket, and nothing save his talent and ambition with which to begin life in the great West.

Finding no employment at Jacksonville, he walked ten miles to Winchester, where he secured employment for three days as an auctioneer's clerk and earned six dollars. Through the assistance of a Vermonter, who was a storekeeper at Winchester, he obtained forty pupils, whom he taught for a term of three months, and earned funds with which to return to Jacksonville and establish himself in his profession. He read law, debated in lyceums and proved himself astonishingly well informed.

In March, 1833, although not yet twenty-one years of age, he was admitted to the bar. Jacksonville was the county seat, the gathering place for country folk, a center of the political life of the community. Here came to Douglas his first opportunity. It was of a political character and afforded an exhibition of his remarkable talents, his forensic powers and exact and definite knowledge of the history of his own country. From his early boyhood he had been an admirer of Andrew Jackson, and this admiration amounted to hero-worship. He had assisted at Brandon, as a boy, in tearing down the coffin handbills which were posted by Jackson's political opponents. Jackson embodied his highest ideal of a man, a general and a statesman. He was to Douglas the perfect representative of the Democratic party, with which he formed an early alliance and to which he clung throughout his life with a tenacity and love that at no time abated. In Jackson all the glories and virtues of the party were embodied and individualized.

Just before Douglas was admitted to the bar Jackson had declared against the National Bank and withdrawn the government deposits. This act aroused his political opponents and brought consternation to the men of his own party. A mass meeting of all good Democrats was called at Jacksonville to take action on the question. Should they support or resist the administration? Resolutions had been prepared in endorsement of the President's course and these had been committed to a party leader of experience and ability to submit to the meeting. At the last moment, however, he demurred and to Douglas fell the task as well as the opportunity to introduce the measure. He presented the resolutions and retired to hear the discussion. The leading

opponent was a well known politician, of long acquaintance and high standing in Jacksonville. When he had finished, Douglas in an elaborate and convincing argument, eloquently expressed and embracing all the knowledge which the question involved, had vanquished his opponent. So complete indeed was his victory that his antagonist left the hall before the speech was finished. The audience was carried by storm. In the demonstration that followed Douglas was borne from the meeting on the shoulders of his enthusiastic admirers. Years afterwards men in Jacksonville declared this was the greatest speech they had ever heard. He was then twenty-one. This triumph gave him the name of The Little Giant.

In February, 1835, while still in his twenty-first year, Douglas was elected by the Legislature of Illinois state's attorney of the First Judicial District, over the able and experienced lawyer, John J. Hardin. A stripling of diminutive stature, scarcely five feet high, weighing less than a hundred pounds, this little man rode his circuit embracing many of the large counties of Illinois and found favor in the conduct of his first public office. Not one of his indictments was quashed; his frankness disarmed ill-natured opponents, his generosity made friends. The members of the bar, at first skeptical of his learning and ability, found in him an efficient prosecutor and a formidable trial lawyer.

In 1836, the twenty-third year of his age, he was foremost in effecting a party organization in Illinois, the first to organize and develop the machinery belonging to the successful administration of a great party. He advocated the first convention to choose delegates to national conventions as well as county, state and district. The same year he was elected to the Legislature of Illinois. Here he came in contact with a remarkable assembly of men, which afterwards furnished Governors, Congressmen and United States Senators and one President of the United States. At this session Douglas displayed genius for legislation which later made him celebrated in Congress. He earnestly advocated the completion of the Illinois and Michigan canals and improvement of the Illinois and Wabash Rivers by the state. He pleaded for two great railroads crossing Illinois, one from east to west and one from north to south, in aid of which he would pledge the credit of the state and meet the interest by sales of public lands. As chairman of the Committee on Petitions he reported ad-

versely to granting divorces by legislative acts and proposed a general measure on the subject, which became a law.

At the close of this session—he was now twenty-four—he resigned from the Legislature and was appointed by the President of the United States, to the office of Register of Public Lands at Springfield. The following year he resigned this office to accept a nomination to Congress. In a lengthy canvass for this place he displayed exceptional abilities as a campaigner and organizer throughout the thirty-four counties of the district. In the consolidation of the party he rallied to his standard a larger following than his most ardent supporters at first thought possible, but was unfortunate in being pitted against John T. Stewart, a man of established reputation and marked ability, who prevailed by a margin of less than fifty votes.

Douglas now directed his attention to the law, in which he achieved success. No account of the great lawyers of Illinois of his time omits his name from the list. He was a skilful, able and successful advocate before the trial courts and his name is frequently seen in connection with important cases argued before the Supreme Court.

In 1839, when he was twenty-six, he was made a member of the Sangamon County delegation to the State Convention; then became chairman of the State Central Committee, and later manager of the Democratic campaign for Illinois. A year later he carried Illinois for Van Buren against General Harrison. In this campaign he entered fearlessly and eloquently into joint debates with men of national reputation, Governors and ex-Governors of states, who were brought to Illinois in defence of the Whig candidate, and proved himself their superior as a debater. During the year a further political honor came to him,—the appointment of Secretary of State of Illinois.

When he was twenty-eight he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, in which office for two years he administered justice impartially. He was at home on the bench, where his freedom from affectation, false dignity, his fairness and good nature commended him to the laity and the bar alike. As a Judge in the trial courts he was described, by way of dispatching business, as “a perfect steam engine in breeches.” His decisions were rarely overruled. His opinions, written in cases heard by him and his associates on questions of law

while sitting as the Supreme Court, bear the stamp of excellent lawyer-ship.

In 1842, when he was twenty-nine, he was one of the leading candidates before the Democratic caucus of his state for United States Senator. A year later he received a nomination for Congress. In the contest that followed, during which he addressed his constituents for forty successive days and nights on the issues of the campaign, he won by a majority of four hundred votes. We now see him about to be transplanted from the narrow field of his past political activities to the broad domain of national legislation, with its responsibilities and possibilities. In the two departments of this field of effort and honor he is destined to spend his remaining years of service. Here he is to stand in the front rank of his party, on the firing line and before the public gaze for eighteen years, and for a portion of the period as the most conspicuous American in public life.

It is but ten years since he left Canandaigua for some place in the great West, he knew not what place, there to carve out a career. He had not in the meantime returned to the East, but on his way to Congress he visited friends at Canandaigua. What American, what Vermonter, is not moved by feelings of emotion and pride as he follows this remarkable man, who went forth unaided and alone, without friends or fortune or fame into a strange, new land, and in ten years came home to lay down at the feet of his proud mother such a succession of offices as it falls to the lot of few men to hold throughout the years of a long political life: State's Attorney of a great district in a large and important state, Register of a Federal Land Office, Secretary of State, Judge of the Supreme Court, and now a member of Congress. Add to these, if you please, his professional eminence and leadership of the great party to which he belonged in the state of his adoption. Has Vermont produced another who has achieved such distinction in so brief a time? There can be but one answer. If the inquiry is made nation-wide where can there be found a parallel to this? If it can be said by the skeptically inclined that this record was made possible only by shrewd politics on the part of Douglas and fortune, it can truthfully be declared that he discharged all these important trusts ably, honestly, fearlessly, and in

such a manner that each new duty entrenched him the more firmly in the favor of his constituents.

Before we enter with him the halls of Congress let us inquire more carefully about him. We have caught but glimpses of him thus far as he rushed from office to office, resigning one to accept another, or retiring from office to make good in his profession, or devoting his energies to service, in behalf of party. What were the qualities that singled Douglas out from other remarkable men who were then in Illinois, a state then abounding in great men, and enabled him to outstrip them all in the race for political preferment? Allow me to draw a picture of him and then you may be able to answer my question and you will conclude, I am sure, that it was a combination of exceptional qualities that enabled him to win. His personality was winning, his temper elastic, his spirit fearless and ardent. His self confidence was unbounded. He possessed a surpassing energy of intellect and will. The intense activity of his mind and the quickness of its working made him a formidable debater. The resoluteness and energy with which he embarked in any cause that enlisted his sympathies and support carried him immediately to the front. His mind was fertile in resources. He was a master of logic. It must be confessed, too, that no one excelled him in sophistry and fallacy. If it is true that he could perceive more quickly than others the strength or weakness of an argument and could elucidate a point to his advantage, it is likewise true that he knew the art of beclouding it for his opponent. In the field of debate which resembled physical combat he had no equal. He had at ready command on all occasions a flow of terse, vigorous and pointed English, which gave no halting to his phrase. His words went straight at the mark, without the adornment of rhetoric or the aid of similes. He gathered his precedents from the history of his own country. He rarely employed a classical allusion and never quoted a line of poetry. Within the range of American history his knowledge was comprehensive, minute and critical. He was by nature an orator. He could lead a crowd, almost irresistibly to his own conclusions. He could have fired a mob to desperate deeds. He was a born leader of men. He had faith in his own fitness for leadership and dared to take its responsibilities. He never seems to have agonized over the choice of a path. He was

a devout believer in party platforms and principles and party organization. His creed embraced the principles of Jefferson and Jackson and these he held to be sufficient for the problems and emergencies of his political life. As a lawyer he mastered the main facts of his cases with the utmost facility and his mind went at once to the points that were sure to affect the decision. He had the skill and temper to manage men, knew how to conciliate opponents, to impress the thoughtful, and to manage all classes of people. He was industrious and energetic. He had a way of making his fellows like him. Of their own accord they put him forward. No one ever entered more readily into close personal relations with those whom he encountered. His maturity and easy manners were intensified by the smallness of his stature. His blue eyes and dark abundant hair heightened his physical charm and boyishness. His virility, his heavy-browed face, round and strong, and his finely formed and uncommonly large head gave him an appearance of intellectual power. His voice was a deep bass and had a great carrying power, by which he was able to reach vast multitudes. Each word distinctly uttered was projected out from his deep chest as if fired from a cannon.

Such was Congressman-elect Douglas when he presented himself for admission to the Congress of 1843. Naturally it was quite unaware of his unusual talents; it did not know about his record in Illinois and it would not have cared had it known. Local records are not of much concern in Washington. Records have to be made there if they are to be of consequence, and few there are who are able to make them. President Tyler was presiding at the White House and General Jackson, though still alive, had retired from active politics and was spending his last days at the Hermitage. The House was considering the hackneyed theme of remitting the fine that had been imposed upon the General by Judge Hall of New Orleans for contempt of court in sending the Judge out of the city to a point where he could not interfere with the administration of martial law by the use of the writ of habeas corpus during the time the General was in command of the city. On the cessation of hostilities and the return of Judge Hall to the city he summoned General Jackson before him and imposed a fine of one thousand dollars for contempt in his treatment of the Judge and in disregard of the orders of his court.

This was promptly paid. Each Congress had taken up the subject of remitting the fine, had argued it and had as many times voted it down. The usual fate apparently awaited the measure at this session for no very good reason could be assigned by anybody, as it seemed, why the fine should be returned. Jackson was again Douglas's opportunity. Now was the time to strike another blow for his hero. Now was the time to rescue his idol from the disgrace which attached to the order of the court, and with the same boyish indignation with which he tore down the coffin handbills and the same enthusiasm with which he carried the resolutions at Jacksonville he came to the defence of the man whom he had always worshiped. The case had been fully, ably and eloquently argued by older members before Douglas took the floor, and it seemed as if he could add little but vehemence to what had been said. But stranger, though he was, he rushed to the defence of General Jackson, declaring that what had been done was necessary for the defence of New Orleans and so justifiable under the law, that the action of the judge was unjust, irregular and illegal, and without jurisdiction. Unhappily for himself a member interrupted Douglas by asking for precedents for such action as he advocated, whereupon Douglas instantly replied that he presumed that there could no case be found on record, or traced by tradition, where a fine imposed upon a general for saving his country at the expense of his life and reputation ever had been refunded but he would make this a precedent for future action. He argued that in times of war and desolation, in times of peril and disaster, it was the substance and not the shadow of things that should be considered. He envied not the feelings of the man who could calmly and coolly reason about the force of precedents and the tendency of examples in the fury of the war-cry when "booty and beauty" was the watchword. The man whose stoicism would enable him to philosophise under such circumstances would fiddle while the capitol was burning and laugh at the horror and anguish that attended the conflagration. The speech was absolutely convincing, the resolution was carried, the fine remitted, and Douglas's reputation at Washington was established.

During the following August Douglas addressed a mass-meeting of Democrats who had assembled as delegates from many western states at Nashville. This was in connection with a speaking tour

which included St. Louis and numerous other points whither Douglas was sent by the Democratic Central Committee with gratifying success. Thus early had he acquired national fame as an orator. He was in demand in states remote from his own and before gatherings of national importance. It was while he was in attendance at the convention at Nashville that he was brought face to face with Andrew Jackson who was living in retirement at the Hermitage. Thither, as to a Mecca, all good Democrats turned their faces after the convention and here Douglas received a welcome that warmed the cockles of his heart. When he was introduced to his hero, General Jackson raised his still brilliant eyes and gazed upon the countenance of his defender. Still retaining his hand, the General asked if he was the Mr. Douglas of Illinois who delivered a speech at the last session of Congress on the subject of the fine imposed on him for declaring martial law at New Orleans. Douglas modestly replied that he delivered a speech in the House of Representatives on that subject, whereupon the old warrior bade him to sit down beside him and proceeded to thank him, and remarked that he was the first man that had relieved his mind on a subject which had rested upon it for thirty years, that he was convinced in his own mind that he had not violated the laws or constitution of his country, but no one had found a legal justification until Douglas had pointed it out on the floor of Congress, where he had established it beyond the possibility of cavil or doubt. He dismissed Douglas by telling him that he could go down to his grave in peace with the perfect consciousness that he had not broken the law. Douglas was speechless; he could not reply, but convulsively shaking the aged veteran's hand, he rose and left the hall.

When in 1844 Douglas had been returned to the House by an increased majority and its older members were timidly feeling their way, Douglas introduced a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas. During its pendency he proposed that the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30''$ should be preserved as a settlement of the slavery question by extending it through the new territory. A similar measure later became a law. In his speech on this question he declared that honor and violated faith required the immediate annexation of Texas. This speech was not equalled by any of the other elaborate speeches made upon that subject. Alexander H. Stevens brought the slavery

question into the case and he and a group of Southern associates refused to accept any terms of annexation which did not secure the right of the states formed from the territory annexed south of the Missouri Compromise line to come into the Union with slavery if they desired. Douglas replied *that such states should be admitted into the Union with or without slavery as the people in each should determine at the time of their application to Congress for admission*. This proposition is of great personal and historical interest, for it appears to be the first statement by Douglas of the theory of popular sovereignty which became the fundamental principle with him for the settlement of the slavery question. Northern men demurred to this proposition. Douglas saved the situation by an amendment which provided that in such states as should be formed out of Texas north of the Missouri line slavery should not exist, and as thus amended, the joint resolution passed. Texas included at this time a part of what is now New Mexico, Colorado and Oklahoma.

The question of the northwest boundary became a political issue at this time. It was coupled with the Texas question in the Democratic platform of 1844. Douglas was an enthusiastic expansionist and so gave his powerful aid to both propositions. He would make the re-occupation of Oregon the Democratic slogan. He tried to impress on the public mind the importance of this vast territory of which then little was known. He claimed that this territory stretched from 42° north latitude to 54° 40" north latitude. The treaties between Russia and Great Britain and between Russia and the United States had fixed the southern boundary of Russian territory on the continent at 54° 40", and a treaty between the United States and Spain had fixed the 42nd parallel as the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions, and a joint treaty between Great Britain and the United States had established the manner of occupancy of this territory which might be terminated by either party on twelve months' notice. The United States and Great Britain were competitors for the territory between Russian and Spanish lines. Douglas made a strong argument for our claims to all this territory on the ground that we were occupying and possessing the Mississippi valley and the Great West which was adjacent to the territory in dispute. In furtherance of this idea he proposed the establishment of the territory of Alaska and Oregon to

protect the commerce of the United States with New Mexico and California, as well as emigration to Oregon. This failed to attract serious attention at the time but is interesting as a forerunner of what was to come. When at a later time the committee on territories reported a bill, boldly extending the government of the United States over the whole of the area in dispute, and the opposition in derision referred to the emigration thither as "wandering and unsettled" Douglas was quickly on his feet declaring that he would never yield an inch to Great Britain or any other government on the question of territory. He looked forward to the time when Oregon would become a considerable member of the Great American Family. He was for erecting a government on this side of the Rockies, extending over settlements under military rule, and then of establishing the territorial government of Oregon. As for Great Britain he would assert our rights to the last inch and then if war came, let it come. He would administer Hannibal's oath of eternal enmity and would not terminate the war until the question of boundary was settled forever. He would make the area of liberty as broad as the continent itself and would not suffer petty rival republics to grow up here. An ocean-bound republic was his dream. He would not be satisfied while Great Britain held one acre on the northwest coast of America. He maintained that the great point at issue between us and Great Britain was for the freedom of the Pacific Ocean, for the trade of China and Japan, and of the East Indies and for the maritime ascendancy of all these waters. President Polk compromised with Great Britain by establishing the boundary at 49° north latitude, much against the wishes of Douglas, who maintained that had we been firm in our demands we would have held all that vast territory on the Pacific Ocean to the 54th degree of north latitude, so celebrated in our day as the great wheat-growing section of Canada. We would have likewise controlled the coast with its harbors. But the Mexican war was at hand and we could not be involved in trouble with two nations at one time.

In 1845, on the opening of the session of Congress, Douglas was appointed chairman of the committee on territories. He was thirty-two years old. It was at a time when the territorial questions were of vast importance. This subject engaged his best talents and enlisted his enthusiastic interest. In this department of his public service he

rose to the zenith of his power, and here likewise he took the step that brought his political defeat. But it was his fate to report the bills by which six of the states of our union were admitted into the great sisterhood and seven of the territories were organized.

In 1845 Texas was admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatsoever. Douglas reported from his committee a joint resolution in this regard, his first act as chairman of the committee on territories. His success at Washington had naturally led to his re-election in 1846. In the same year President Polk announced that war with Mexico existed, and told Douglas, who was now thirty-three, that he could lead the Democratic party in the House of Representatives if he chose to do so. The venerable Whig statesman, John Quincy Adams, "old man eloquent," as he was called, was then and for a long time theretofore had been the leader in that branch of the national legislature. Mr. Adams had had a distinguished public career. His father was the second President of the United States. Mr. Adams was educated at Harvard and fitted for the law. Early in life his political fortunes begun. He represented Massachusetts in the United States Senate while he was still a young man. Retiring from this office he devoted his great learning to the work of an instructor in Harvard College. Later he represented this country in several of the great courts of Europe. He was Secretary of State under President Monroe and the author of the Monroe Doctrine. In 1824 he became President but was unable to defeat General Jackson as a candidate for re-election in 1828. Had his career ended here he would not have left a great name, but entering the House after his retirement from the presidency, contrary to all precedents before or since he rounded out a career of such distinction and honor as has seldom fallen to the lot of any statesman. For almost two decades he led his party on the floor of the lower house where he literally died in the harness. Able, cultured, experienced in the affairs of government and highly trained in the arts of a debater, he was a formidable antagonist. Moreover he was bitterly opposed to the Mexican war for the reason that he believed it would result in the addition of slave territory to the Union and would give the slave-holding states a numerical advantage. It was against an opponent thus formidable that Douglas was arrayed

when he took the floor to pass an appropriation for the prosecution of the war which President Folk had reported was begun. Our justification lay in the fact, if such it was, that we had title to that tract of land lying between the Neuces River and the Rio Grande in the State of Texas. The President had ordered General Taylor, whose troops were on the east of the Neuces to take a position between that river and the Rio Grande, and upon doing so the Mexicans made an attack and blood was shed. If we owned the land where this occurred then we were rightfully at war with Mexico, but if not we were invaders without right on the territory of another country. The question was an important one not only from immediate consequences but from those that were remote and such as bore on the acquisition of territory. Douglas claimed that the catalogue of aggressions and insults, of outrages on our national flag—on persons and property of our citizens—of the violation of our treaty stipulations, and the murder, robbery and imprisonment of our countrymen, in themselves would have furnished a just cause for the war. But referring to the question of title he maintained with characteristic energy and positiveness that the Republic of Texas held the country on the left bank of the Rio Grande by virtue of a successful revolution. The United States had received Texas as a state with all her territory and had no right to surrender any part of it. The right to hold the territory between the two rivers named was based on the treaty made with General Santa Anna after the battle of San Jacinto, which acknowledged the independence of Texas and recognized the Rio Grande as its boundary. At this point the aged Massachusetts statesman interrupted the new leader of the democracy by the inquiry, "Has not that treaty with Santa Anna been since discarded by the Mexican Government?" "I presume it has," replied Douglas, "for I am not aware of any treaty or compact which that government ever entered into that has not either been violated or repudiated by them afterwards." Santa Anna as recognized dictator, so Douglas claimed, was the *de facto* government and his acts were binding on Mexico. Forthwith Texas had established counties beyond the Neuces and extended her jurisdiction over the territory to the Rio Grande which Mexico had recognized as the boundary, and the United States had extended the revenue laws over the same country—the country where the Ameri-

can soldiers had been slain. Mr. Adams followed Douglas with the keenest interest and repeatedly interrupted him as he advanced in his argument so that the latter, almost insensibly, addressed his remarks to Mr. Adams. They were in striking contrast, the aged New England statesman and the young westerner. By a series of questions Douglas had made Mr. Adams declare that the western boundary of Texas was the Neuces and not the Rio Grande. When he had his antagonist committed to this position so firmly that it could not be escaped, Douglas produced and read a telegram by Mr. Adams to Don Onís, the Spanish minister, written in 1819, when he was Secretary of State, in connection with the cession of the Floridas to us and the relinquishment by us of any title west of the Sabine and Red Rivers, in which he said, "Our title to the Rio Grande is as clear as to the Island of New Orleans." To this Mr. Adams replied that he wrote the dispatch as Secretary of State and made out as good a case as he could for his country, but he denied that he claimed that the line followed the river to the full length. To this Douglas answered that he had heard of the line to which the gentleman referred and it followed a river more than a hundred miles above Matamoras. Consequently, taking the gentleman on his own claim, the position occupied by General Taylor and every inch of ground upon which an American soldier had planted his foot was within our own territory as claimed by him in 1819. The veteran statesman was worsted and the House was divided between admiration for the new actor on the national stage and the retiring statesman.

While Douglas' fame was constantly rising in the House and his reputation at home was bringing increased majorities on each election to the lower House, in January, 1847, he was elected a United States senator. For six years he had been a potential candidate for this office. Immediately upon taking his seat in the Senate he was appointed chairman of the Committee on Territories. This was a position of the utmost importance. It was the very storm center of politics. Every question of territorial organization touched the peculiar interests of the South. The varying questions of public opinion crossed in this committee.

In 1848 he made his first important speech in the Senate on the Mexican war, defending the course of the administration. Soon a

Mexican treaty was submitted in which provision was made that the boundary line established should be religiously respected by each of the two republics and no change ever made therein except by the consent of both nations. This, he claimed, violated a great principle of public policy in relation to this continent; it pledged the faith of this republic that succeeding generations should not do that which duty to the interests and honor of the country in the progress of events might compel them to do. Being an ardent expansionist and believing that the limits of this country should be as wide as possible he opposed any treaty restrictions that would tie our hands. In this course he was consistent at all times. A striking illustration is afforded in case of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain. Douglas saw the importance not only of our building the canal across the isthmus but of our right to control it, and in this he was half a century ahead of the other American statesmen. He opposed the provisions of the treaty because they would hinder and embarrass us should we enter on the work of building the canal. Looking to a great future, which he said he was not impatient about, he inquired of his fellow senators how long it would be before it would be necessary for this country to construct the canal. When this was done American citizens would settle along its line and it would be necessary to protect them by the establishment of American principles and institutions. Hence he was unwilling to adopt that clause in the treaty guaranteeing that neither party would ever "annex, colonize, or occupy any portion of Central America." Before we could enter into negotiations or turn a shovel in the direction of building the Panama canal, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, against the blighting effect of which Douglas warned his countrymen half a century ago, the ratification of which he opposed, had to be abrogated. The provisions of the treaty were entirely out of harmony with the authority which the United States must exercise over the canal zone. With tact, courage and ability John Hay, as Secretary of State, succeeded in negotiating with Great Britain the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and left us free to build and control the Panama canal.

We come now to the most interesting part in the life of Senator Douglas, and whatever diversity of opinion may exist as to him there can be no question about the importance of his career. During the

next ten years he was the very storm-center of national events and if he failed to see the right, as a later and wiser generation has viewed it, there can be no denial that he carried his part with consummate ability, and he should be credited with high and patriotic motives in his leadership in the establishment of the legislation for *popular sovereignty*. On the conclusion of peace with Mexico, that nation being too poor to pay a war indemnity, it ceded to this country what was then known as California and New Mexico, out of which these two and the following states have been carved: Nevada, Arizona, Utah and part of Colorado and Wyoming. This area stretched westward from Texas to the Pacific. The northwest boundary had been established and all that territory was ours then known as Oregon, including the present states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho, as was likewise the northwest territory, out of which have been created the states of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado and North and South Dakota. There, too, was the Territory of Nebraska, which was afterwards divided into the states of Kansas and Nebraska. From a tier of states which bordered the Mississippi on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west there was a great country in which there was no efficient government or organization, save such as resulted from the Mormon settlement. From his position of chairman of the Committee on Territories, it became the duty of Senator Douglas, as it was his high ambition, to direct the legislation which should lead to the political organization of this great territory embracing geographically half of the United States. It was sparsely settled. It had no roads. The presence of the Indian added to the dangers and hardships of exploitation. Not much was known of a large part of this section. Gold had been discovered in California and emigrants were anxious to go by land, as well as water, to this field of opportunity. The difficulties of organization would have been formidable enough to have challenged the ability of the ablest statesman had not the question of the extension of territory been tangled fast with the question of the extension of slavery. The balance of power until now had been preserved between the slaveholding and free states by a rule which admitted no free state unless a slave state accompanied it into the Union. To keep up this fine balance was the task which the south imposed on the statesmen who were charged with the legislation for the organization of new states

and territories. Modern inventions and the growing demand for cotton throughout the world had made slave labor profitable. The slave holdings amounted to a vast capitalization and it was in the interest of the investors in this kind of property that the field for slave labor should be as large as possible. To this end they looked to new territory for its employment. In the broad new field now about to be organized into states and territories they hoped that the old rule would still find favor for preserving the balance of power, and that the new country would furnish to their cherished institution opportunities for expansion and profit. Slavery was a powerful force in the national councils and one that had to be reckoned with in all legislation affecting it. Douglas had met with scant support when he proposed before this to organize Oregon. In the Northwest Territory slavery was prohibited by the ordinance of 1787. All this territory was, moreover, north of the Missouri Compromise line. The Wilmot proviso, which was pending for several years but finally failed of passage, provided that slavery should be prohibited in the territory acquired as a result of the Mexican conquest. The Missouri Compromise forbade slavery in the territory acquired by the Louisiana purchase north and west of the State of Missouri, 36° 30' north latitude, but admitted Missouri as a slave state.

Senator Douglas although succeeding in passing an act extending the Missouri line westward across the State of Texas was not successful in a similar effort to extend the line to the Pacific Ocean. On the fourth attempt to provide a territorial government for Oregon he was only successful after much turmoil and an exhausting session of Congress. This move was bitterly opposed by the southern members for the reason that the restrictive clause, borrowed from the Ordinance of 1787, against slavery, having been embraced in the bill, they were fearful of the consequences of the precedent thus established. The final act was identical with the one Douglas had introduced in the House.

In 1848 Cass was nominated by the Democratic party for the presidency and General Taylor received the nomination of the Whig convention. The result of the election favored the Whigs and General Taylor became president but he died a short time after his inauguration and was succeeded by the vice-president, Millard Fillmore.

At the session of Congress held in 1848 Douglas proposed to admit both California and New Mexico as one state. It is likely he wanted to avoid raising the specter of slavery. If California could come at once into the Union she could create her own institutions. This was a forcible application of the principle of popular sovereignty. Polk's cabinet, while admitting the plan to be ingenious, did not lend its aid. The president wanted a bill drafted for the admission of New Mexico separately but Douglas refused. The bill which Douglas had drawn was not submitted to his committee but to the judiciary committee of which four out of five were southerners. They reported adversely and the bill failed. Several further unsuccessful attempts were made by Senator Douglas at this session to admit California and New Mexico. Finally in despair he exclaimed, addressing the president of the Senate, "Sir, if we wish to settle this question of slavery let us banish the agitation from these halls. Let the people of such states settle the question of slavery within their limits, as they would settle the question of banking, or any other domestic institution, according to their own will." Congress failed to pass any bill and California was left to its own devices.

When Congress assembled in 1849 the Union was in peril. Never since 1821, when the Missouri Compromise was passed, had there been such alarm for the safety of the republic. Slavery was knocking for admission to the new territory and its opponents were resisting its approach. In this unsettled and unhappy condition of affairs Clay, the great Whig statesman and orator, heard the call of his distracted country and came forth from his retirement at Ashland to lend his aid and counsel in the settlement of present difficulties. Webster, too, the great New England statesman, was in the Senate, as were Calhoun and Cass and Benton and many another statesman whose name had been or was destined to become famous in the Senate. It was as distinguished a body of men as had been assembled since the days of the American Revolution. It contained the three greatest statesmen this country has ever known. Douglas had introduced two bills, one for the admission of California as a free state and one for the organization of Utah and New Mexico without any restriction as to slavery. On the coming of Clay, out of respect for his great wisdom and leadership, the question growing out of the slavery agitation and em-

braced in the organization of the new territory were submitted to a committee of thirteen, of which he was made chairman. Clay came forward with the following compromise:

First: To admit California with a free constitution.

Second: To organize territorial governments in the region acquired from Mexico without any restriction as to slavery.

Third: To settle the question of the boundary of Texas and the debt due her on a fair basis.

Fourth: To prohibit slave trade, but not slavery, in the District of Columbia.

Fifth: To provide more carefully for the return of fugitive slaves.

This compromise was carried out during the latter part of the session only after the most strenuous efforts on the part of its friends. On an examination of the bills for the admission of California and the organization of Utah and New Mexico, drawn by Senator Douglas, Clay found that they could not be improved but hesitated about using them in his committee as this would seem unfair to Douglas. The latter was most generous and received the gracious thanks of Clay for the course he pursued in this regard. These bills were fastened together by a wafer and presented in what was known as the Omnibus Bill. No changes were made in the bills. Douglas, who was a careful politician, was opposed to the joining of the two measures, for the reason that the friends of one would not be the friends of the other and both bills might fail. A protracted and exhausting contest ensued in which the question was debated by the great men then in the Senate. Clay himself made his last speech. For two days he pleaded with his fellow senators and with his divided countrymen. Webster made his seventh of March speech to the rage and sorrow of New England, for he supported the compromise measures. He made but one speech after this in the Senate. Calhoun was too ill to appear in person and his speech was read by Senator Mason. He died soon after. Both he and Senator Davis upon whom his mantle fell opposed the compromise on the ground that slavery in the territories was guaranteed by the Federal constitution. Chase and Seward opposed the measure because they thought it looked to the extension of slavery. Cass was for it and Benton against it. The debate was one

of the most notable in the history of the country. It involved in the discussion the old leaders and the new men of the Senate, but no one except Clay himself had such a part in the settlement as Douglas. Late in the summer after Clay had been exhausted and had retired, all but the part relating to Utah was stricken out and with that single passenger the Omnibus went through the Senate. Then Douglas promptly brought forward his bill for the admission of California and it was passed. The bill fixing the boundary of Texas was presented and passed. Then Douglas brought up his bill for the organization of New Mexico and it was passed. A more stringent slave law was adopted and the slave trade in the District of Columbia was abolished. By the middle of September the work of the important session was at an end. The great principle had been established in the language of Senator Douglas that "the people could form and regulate their own internal concerns and institutions in their own way." Senator Davis, with whom Douglas had been in frequent debate over the measures, declared that if anyone had a right to be proud of the success of the measures it was the senator from Illinois.

When Douglas returned to Chicago, to which city he had removed in 1847, he found an aroused and maddened populace. The passage of the fugitive slave law was the cause of the uprising. The Chicago Common Council had passed resolutions the night previous condemning the act as in violation of the constitution and the laws of God and calling upon the officers of the law to disregard it. A mass meeting was about to pass resolutions approving this extraordinary action of the council and denouncing as traitors the senators and representatives who had voted for the law, when Douglas walked upon the stand and announced that the next evening he would publicly defend the measures of compromise, and demanded to be heard before he was condemned. He had an audience such as had never before assembled in Chicago, including two-thirds of the voters of the city. His defence was bold, skilful, successful. He avowed his authorship of three of the measures and his approval of the others. He took them up one by one, explained them to his constituents and in answer to repeated questions argued out and elucidated the whole subject. At the end of his extraordinary address he proposed and carried resolutions pledging the meeting to stand by the constitution and the laws, and

calling upon the council to repudiate its action. The next night the council met and repealed the offensive resolutions. Douglas' triumph had been complete.

President Fillmore signed the compromise act and it became a law. The Legislature of Illinois passed resolutions in its favor and the lower House of Congress, by a good majority, a little more than a year later voted that the compromise measures should be regarded as a permanent settlement. The two great parties, Whig and Democratic, in the conventions of 1852 endorsed the measures by party platforms, and Rufus Choate, the leader of the New England bar and the spokesman of the Whig convention, indulged in a hyperbole as he exclaimed "With what instantaneous and mighty charm they calmed the madness and anxiety of the hour!"

Unhappily for Senator Douglas the slavery question was not settled by the compromise of 1850 but was destined to be brought forward still more formidably in 1854, when he again sought to organize Nebraska. The need for immediate organization seemed imperative. The territory promised a fair field for settlement, and organization meant a safer passage for those emigrants who would go to the region farther west. It would have a further effect, too, in the settlement of Oregon. Something had to be done in organization of the intervening territory. Nebraska was almost a passion with Douglas. As early as 1844 he had proposed a territorial government for the region, had introduced a second bill in 1848 and a third in 1852, all of which were designed to prepare the way for a settled government. The proposition to settle this area had not been favored by the southern representatives who declared that "new swarms should not leave the old hives." They did not care for its organization unless it was opened to slavery. It was unlike California, Utah and New Mexico which came to us as a result of the Mexican conquest. It came to us by the Louisiana purchase and being north of the Missouri line slavery was prohibited therein. But the prohibition was by act of Congress and Congress might either directly or by implication undo its act and make slavery lawful in the new territory. In 1853 another bill for the organization of Nebraska was introduced in the Senate and a bill to admit the Territory of Washington was passed, but the Nebraska bill hung fire. In December of this year a fifth bill was intro-

duced to organize Nebraska, similar to the one introduced at the last session, and the same was referred to the committee of which Senator Douglas was chairman. While this bill was pending certain newspapers which were supposed to voice the sentiments of Senator Douglas predicted that Nebraska would be organized on the same basis as Utah and New Mexico, and that the climate, nature and necessary pursuits of the people, who would occupy the territory, would establish its status as free territory.

It was apparent that some way to conciliate the south must be found before Nebraska could be organized. Already one of the senators from Missouri had announced that the organization would be opposed unless the Missouri Compromise was repealed. In January, 1854, a report was made to the Senate, recommending that the section of the compromise relating to slavery be declared null and void. A substitute measure provided that when states were admitted into the Union they should be received with or without slavery as their constitution declared at the time of admission. This had been the way with California. A further provision left the people of a territory free to decide whether slavery should exist or not before the organization of a state government. This was a principle which Senator Douglas claimed for Utah and New Mexico. The opinion that Senator Douglas wanted to open Nebraska to slavery, which was rather widely entertained at the time, was not well founded and search will be made in vain for either speech or act to justify such a conclusion. In fairness to the great statesman it ought to be admitted at this day that he did not so believe and that the conclusion was unwarranted. Four years previously he had declared that the prairies were dedicated to freedom by a law above human power to repeal; that the climate, topography and the condition of slave labor all forbade slavery in the unoccupied areas of the West.

When Senator Dixon, in January, 1854, offered an amendment to the Nebraska bill with an express stipulation that slavery might exist in the territory as though the compromise had not been passed, Senator Douglas was reluctant to take so radical a position, although he had declared that the compromise was no longer of practical force, as the acts of 1850 had established another principle for the government of territory north of the Missouri line. Not without serious

misgivings, however, and the contemplation of the momentous consequences that would attach to such a course did Senator Douglas finally agree to support the measure. But he knew that the repeal was consistent with his theory of popular sovereignty and with its adoption that great principle could have broad application. It was the same principle, as he claimed, that was expressed in the acts admitting Utah and New Mexico. On the 7th of February he proposed an amendment to the pending bill which provided that inasmuch as the Missouri Compromise was inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention it was declared inoperative and void, it being the true intent and meaning of the act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. Thus was the doctrine of popular sovereignty engrafted upon the federal law.

The discussion and events that attended the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, for it had been decided to make two territories out of Nebraska, were by far the most important and disastrous in Douglas's career. The great senators, Webster, Clay, Calhoun had passed from the scene and Douglas was left the most able, aggressive and conspicuous debater in the Senate. He had succeeded Clay as the great compromiser. He was in full command of the pending legislation. The Senate was not then lacking in other great men, for the vital importance and absorbing interest of the slavery question, if no other cause, had sent to the highest law-making body at Washington an array of talent such as has rarely been assembled there in any other era of our national life. Chase of Ohio, Seward of New York, Sumner and Everett of Massachusetts, were among the most conspicuous members from the northern states but to those could be added many others that were well known in all parts of the country. The best men of the South were naturally on duty, too, in the Senate. Sumner, Chase and Seward attacked Douglas with all the great ability at their command and in elaborate and set speeches sought to overcome him in debate. The issue seemed so certain that he preferred not to speak on the bill but his friends prevailed on him to close the debate, as it was his right to do as chairman of the committee. Long

before the hour arrived for him to address the Senate all available space for visitors was taken by an eager and expectant throng who had gathered to hear the exponent of popular sovereignty close the debate. For hours he attracted the admiration of his hearers who gave him frequent applause as he upheld his position against the combined assault of the abolition Senators. No one attacked him during this speech unless it was to the discomfiture of the Senator interrupting him, and as often as he returned to the discussion of the issue, after an interruption, he left the impression that these highly moral men, who were armed with a just cause, were culprits and he their inquisitor, and so genuine and commanding was his eloquence and so able his argument, that even Seward, on begging for an interruption in order that he might make an explanation, said, "I have never had so much respect for him as I have tonight." While the bill passed the Senate by a large majority the vote was closer in the House. Douglas took charge of the contest in the House, in so far as generalship and advice were concerned, and by May the bill passed and received the President's signature.

The passage of this measure created the greatest opposition and excitement throughout the North. But a handful of northern representatives who voted for the measure were returned at the next election. It meant to this portion of our land the unlocking of the doors to the admission of slavery to the unoccupied prairies of the West. To Douglas it had no such meaning. He looked upon the legislation as opening the way for the practical operation of a rule by which the slavery question would be banished from the halls of Congress to become a local question in each state and territory. Here the people, who were as intelligent as he and as moral and as much accountable to man and God, could determine what place, if any, the institution of slavery should have, and adopting it as an institution could make the necessary laws for its protection. It was thus made a matter of local option. The local inhabitants could have it or reject it. He would have them entirely responsible for all laws relative to master and slave as they were for the laws governing the relation of parent and child, husband and wife, guardian and ward and master and servant.

When Douglas returned to his home from the scene of his fatal triumph he found the flags at half-mast and the bells were tolling. He announced to his constituents that he would address them on the subject of the Kansas-Nebraska bill on the following night and he looked forward to such a triumph as had accompanied his speech on the compromise of 1850. But there was trouble everywhere, his personal friends turned away, the rank and file of his party were in distrust. For more than two hours he stood before an angry mob and tried to silence them so that he might speak but it was of no avail. The die was cast. The meeting had been organized for just such a result by the Abolitionists of Chicago. Moreover, it was in part armed in the expectation of the use of force. Had Douglas appeared with a similar organization, as it was whispered he would do, bloodshed would have been inevitable. Indignation was at high-water mark and nothing but the coolness and fearlessness of the great Senator prevented an outbreak. As it was he was assaulted on his way to his hotel and escaped with difficulty. It was found out presently that the spirit of the Chicago mob was abroad over the whole North, and Douglas afterwards said that at this time he could have ridden from Boston to Chicago by the light of his burning effigies.

Whatever force there was to his argument, and that of Webster in his speech of the seventh of March, that climate and natural conditions would determine where slavery would exist, and of that other argument, that whatever the right or wrong of the question was, the local inhabitants were the proper parties on whom the duty fell to decide, Douglas, if he was moved at all by politic considerations, had failed to gauge from a sentimental point of view, the almost religious depth of the anti-slavery feeling in that very stock from which he had himself sprung. He was not a slave holder and never had been. His first wife, a Southern woman of rare charm and culture, was the daughter of a slave holder and upon her death the Douglas children became the owners of a plantation with slaves. But Douglas himself never had any interest in any slave property, although his father-in-law, Colonel Martin, desired to bestow a portion of his estate upon him, thus giving him the control of a certain number of slaves. This Douglas declined and refused to have anything to do with the ownership of slaves.

The result of the campaign of 1856 was the election of Buchanan as President. The Republican party was organized and its first ticket was in the field. Its essential policy was opposition to the *extension* of slavery. It was bitterly opposed to the act of 1854, for this legislation meant, as the party viewed it, the extension of slavery. The signs, as read from this quarter, were unmistakable. If slavery were to find a home in any of the new territory it was agreed that Kansas presented the most hopeful field. It became the pivotal point in the contest between freedom and slavery. It was agreed that Nebraska was not inviting territory for the institution. Events came in rapid succession. On the 4th of March, 1857, Buchanan was inaugurated, a Democrat and a representative of southern interests. Two days later the Supreme Court of the United States decided the Dred Scott case, in which the court held that a negro descended from slave parents was not a citizen and that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. This opinion was in harmony with the opinion entertained by Southern statesmen, that before the organization of a state government slavery was guaranteed in the territories by the Federal Constitution. If this was true what became of the theory of popular sovereignty? If the constitution protected slavery in the territories how could the inhabitants thereof either "vote it down or vote it up?" This was the crucial question in the great debate between Douglas and Lincoln in 1858. The question here as propounded by Lincoln was, "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" This question and Douglas's answer have been credited with having determined the fate of Douglas and his party in 1860. The answer was in the affirmative. Douglas declared that slavery could not exist except by the protection of local laws and as these must reflect local sentiment, if the inhabitants of a territory wished to exclude slavery they could pass such laws as would make its existence impossible. It is a mistake to suppose that Douglas was forced to answer this question hurriedly or in a manner other than according to his settled convictions and carefully thought-out opinion. As early as June, 1857, he had given his opinion on the Dred Scott decision, as it related to popular sovereignty, by affirming that while the right continued in full

force under the constitution and could not be divested or alienated by an act of Congress it would necessarily, nevertheless, remain a barren and worthless right unless sustained, protected and enforced by appropriate police regulations, and local legislation prescribing adequate remedies for its violation, which would necessarily depend upon the will and wishes of the people of the territory.

We are about to see the principle of popular sovereignty in practical operation. Kansas becomes the center of interest. Its population had been greatly augmented by the efforts of the emigrant aid societies, which had sent great numbers into Kansas to make it a free state, and by the efforts of the slave holders in Missouri, who had sent thither a large representation of pro-slavery voters. A good many of the latter did not become permanent residents of the proposed state, their mission being to establish Kansas as a slave state and then to return to Missouri. The pro-slavery party called what is known in history as the Lecompton convention. This convention proceeded to adopt a slave constitution and with it knocked for admission to the Union. The free-state party took no part in the election of delegates to this convention because the election was based on a defective census and registration. It was furthermore promised by the federal authorities that a submission should be made to a popular vote of any constitution which the prospective convention might adopt. Some months after the Lecompton convention was held the free-state party abandoned its policy of not participating in local elections, and voting for a territorial Legislature, the result was a decisive free state victory. It was thus apparent that though the pro-slavery party could make such a constitution as they liked, the free state party could vote it down. The question in the first place was, did the Lecompton convention represent the choice of the voters of Kansas, and in the second place should the vote taken be accepted as the final test for the admission of the state, or should the constitution be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection? When the results of the constitutional convention became known it turned out that not the whole of the constitution was to be submitted to a popular vote but only the part relating to slavery. The people might vote for the constitution with slavery or without slavery. In either event the constitution would be approved. But should the free

state party succeed, then a provision still guaranteed the right of property in slaves then in the territory, and further provided if it was amended after 1864, that no alteration should be made to affect the rights of property in slaves. Douglas was stirred to the depths by the proposition of President Buchanan to submit the Lecompton constitution to Congress for ratification without referring it to the voters of Kansas for their acceptance or rejection. In short the President was for making Kansas a slave state regardless of the will of the inhabitants. This was the very opposite of popular sovereignty.

At the beginning of the session of 1857 Senator Douglas called on the President and warned him that he opposed the plan of admitting Kansas on the pending constitution unless the same should be ratified by a vote of the territory. The interview was a heated one. When Douglas threw down the gauntlet by declaring that he would oppose the policy of the President to the bitter end, the President sternly reminded him that no Democrat ever yet had differed from an administration of his own choice without being crushed. To this Douglas replied that he wished the President to remember that General Jackson was dead. On the following day, in a three-hour speech, he denounced the convention on the floor of the Senate, declaring that while he did not care whether slavery was voted down or voted up, he did want a free choice made by the people of Kansas. His sense of honor, consistency and abiding faith in the justice of the great principle of popular sovereignty prompted him to insist that the constitution of a territory should not receive the sanction of Congress unless it represented the popular will.

While it was apparent that the majority in Kansas was overwhelmingly against the convention which proposed the constitution, the President was insistent and in a message to Congress recommended the admission of Kansas with the slave constitution, declaring that Kansas was as much a slave state then as Georgia or South Carolina. Friends of the convention confidently maintained that Congress had no alternative but to accept its provisions. To this Douglas replied that it was the right and duty of Congress to prevent the admission of Kansas except on such a constitution as its people approved.

The situation in which Senator Douglas now found himself was one of the most unique, alarming and remarkable that ever confronted

a man in our national life. As the leader of the Senate, on the question of the greatest public interest and concern, he had broken with the administration which represented his own party. The President, for this rash act, sought to crush him; the party press was turned against him; his political friends in Illinois, who had been favored by the federal appointments, were turned out of office to make places for his enemies; he was denounced as a traitor, renegade and deserter. In March, 1858, he rose from a sick bed to make his final appeal against the measure. The announcement that he would speak had attracted a great gathering of spectators to the Senate. They came in the early morning and refused to leave their seats upon learning that Douglas would not speak until evening. Demand for room was such that the ladies were admitted to the floor of the Senate. In this, one of his most eloquent speeches, he declared his independence as a Senator and his right to act independently of the executive and not at his dictation. With dramatic effect he declared that official position had no charms for him when deprived of that freedom of thought and action which becomes a gentleman and a Senator.

He was unable to break the forces of the administration sufficiently to defeat the measure in the Senate, but his efforts had borne fruit at the other end of the capitol where the House voted to submit the constitution to the people of Kansas. From a committee of compromise a bill, known as the English bill, was submitted, which provided for a grant of public lands to Kansas in case the LeCompton constitution was endorsed by the voters of the territory. If the vote favored the constitution then Kansas was to be admitted as a slave state on the proclamation of the President. Douglas refused to vote for the committee's bill on the ground that it held out a bribe to the voters of Kansas. The bill passed, however, but by mid-summer Kansas had recorded nearly ten thousand votes against the land ordinance and proposed constitution. The administration had failed to make Kansas a slave state and Douglas had triumphed.

In spite of the efforts of the administration to ruin his political career, in the spring of 1858, the Democratic convention of Illinois unqualifiedly endorsed Douglas for United States Senator. His term was about to expire. In June of that year the Republican convention named Abraham Lincoln for United States Senator. An antagonist

was about to meet Douglas more formidable than any with whom he had measured swords in the halls of Congress. A new truth was brought forward by this opponent, expressed in words which the gathering years have given the force of a solemn judgment: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." Douglas's eyes came across these words as he read the speech of his rival on his return to Illinois from Washington and they made such an impression on his mind that in his first address he discussed their meaning and rarely afterwards failed to refer to them during the debate over the senatorship. Did this mean that war was to be made upon slavery until it was exterminated?

The reception that was given Douglas this time by the City of Chicago was in striking contrast to his welcome after his return following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. In the place of tolling bells, flags at half mast and an angry mob, he was met by a special train and received with every sign of popular enthusiasm. In a carriage drawn by six horses, under military escort, amid the booming of cannon and the shouts of thousands in his praise, with banners fluttering in the breeze and in the light of fireworks and illumination he entered his beloved city.

The slavery question was about to be argued out on the prairies of Illinois. The two disputants could not have been more unlike. One had gone to Illinois from the northern state of Vermont, the other from the southern state of Kentucky. One was a Democrat, the other a Whig. They had always been political opponents. One had outstripped all rivals in his rapid advancement to political fame and was the best known and most distinguished member of his party; the other had held but few offices and for ten years had been in private life and was not much known outside his own state. One had received his inspiration in the rush and whirl of active affairs at the national capitol; the other had formed his political opinions while riding the circuit in the practice of law. One was allied with the rich and powerful influences of the nation; the other was better known by the common people. One had the gift of mental grasp that worked

by intuition and could argue out a question to its last analysis without reflection or forethought; the other learned slowly and stated his argument well only when he had given it patient consideration. In place of the assurance of the one was the brooding melancholy of the other. Douglas spoke with the utmost readiness and was gifted with all the graces of the orator. Lincoln spoke slowly, and except when aroused, was awkward in manner and gesture. Douglas was almost a dwarf in height although now thick-set and solid in appearance; Lincoln was tall and slight. Douglas had a deep bass voice of great carrying power; Lincoln's was a high falsetto when in use before great audiences. Douglas wore the clothes of fashionable Washington; in this regard he was immaculate. Lincoln's were ill-fitting, much worn and unbecoming. One was an ardent disciple of party platforms and creeds; the other was moved by the moral issues that were involved in political questions.

When Lincoln challenged Douglas to the joint debates he had nothing to lose and everything to gain. If he failed he was no worse off than before, but if he won over such a man as Senator Douglas such a triumph could not fail to bring him into great national prominence. This was the result. When the debates began Lincoln was not well known outside of his own state. When they ended he had a national reputation. It was Senator Douglas that gave prominence to the discussion. He could not discuss slavery, or any other national question, without attracting the whole country. At every fireside his speeches were read. In this way Lincoln received his introduction to the American people. His speeches were reported with those of Douglas and thus his fame went abroad and the presidency was made possible for him. It is not likely that he would have received the nomination had it not been for the debates.

The time was favorable for Lincoln. The Republican party was organized and had gathered to its banners all the opposing forces to Democracy in Illinois. It had declared against the further extension of slavery in the new territories. The recent measures for the settlement of the vexed question had not had the desired effect. Instead of peace popular sovereignty had brought bloodshed to Kansas and the end was not yet. President Buchanan's pro-slavery inaugural, the Dred Scott decision and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise

furnished material for a skilful argument that there was a conspiracy to extend slavery. The administration was opposed to Douglas and he had to fight at all times with an enemy in the rear.

In the questions and answers, the personalities, the give-and-take of the discussion, which occurred at seven points in the state, ranging from the north to the south, the fortunes of the two disputants were very much alike. In the early part of the debate Douglas seemed to have the advantage and in the latter part Lincoln made gains. The debates attracted large audiences who listened with the closest attention. The great issue in the debate was a moral one. Lincoln took the position that slavery was morally wrong and so its further extension should be prevented. Douglas took no sides on the moral question. To him it was a question of practical politics. Lincoln said he was not in favor of making voters or jurymen or office-holders or even citizens of negroes, but he did expect them to be freemen; he did not expect, however, in the most peaceful way that slavery would be ultimately extinguished in less than a hundred years at least, but he believed it would occur in the best way for both races in God's good time. Douglas made a forcible and comprehensive statement of his side of the case by declaring that the people of a state or territory were civilized as well as he, had consciences as well as he and were accountable to God and their posterity and not to him. It was for them to decide, therefore, the moral and religious right of the slavery question for themselves within their own limits. He cared more for the principle of self-government, the right of the people to rule, than for all the negroes in Christendom. He would not endanger the perpetuity of the Union nor blot out the great inalienable right of the white man for all the negroes that ever existed. In view of Douglas's attitude on the slavery question, the opposition of the administration and its office holders in Illinois, and the combination of all factions outside of the Democratic party against him, his reelection was a great triumph.

The popular regard in which he was held and his capacity to attract the masses was never better illustrated than at this time. Immediately following the canvass in Illinois he visited the South, in part for the purpose of here improving his health and in part for business. He endeavored to attract no attention but his approach

became known as he neared Memphis and New Orleans and demonstrations were made in these cities, where he was welcomed by throngs of people who drew forth speeches from him at each city. A similar experience occurred in New York on his return from the South, and while here a delegation from Philadelphia called on him and invited him to deliver an address in Independence Hall, whither he repaired en route to Washington, speaking in the old Cradle of Liberty.

Douglas's activities were not confined to his labors as Senator. At a fortunate time he made large purchases of real estate in Chicago which so advanced in value as to give him a substantial property. In the midst of great political excitement, midway between the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the debates with Lincoln, in 1856, he gave the site of about ten acres in the City of Chicago for the institution of learning known as the University of Chicago. He was the President of the Board of Trustees and devoted much of his thought toward the close of his career to this institution, to which he had contributed a large portion of his property in order to place within the reach of the young men of Chicago and the West the advantages of a higher education. He hoped and intended that it should be a great University. He had a broad conception of what an institution of this kind should be and did every thing in his power to bring it to a high state of efficiency. Had he lived his ambition would undoubtedly been realized. He likewise took an active interest in the work of the Smithsonian Institution. He became a member of the Board of Regents and retained the office until his death.

Senator Douglas was an ardent advocate of all just measures for the development of the country. To this end he gave his aid to such measures of legislation as looked to the granting of public lands for railroads and internal improvements. He was the first to propose a bill for a grant of land to settlers who should cultivate it for a series of years. In this way he believed the railroads and the settlers would be wealth producers for the nation.

Douglas had an honorable ambition to be President, but like Clay, Webster and Blaine he held too conspicuous a place in the public councils to attain that end. The halls of Congress have not proved to be the best place from which to start a presidential campaign. An important part in legislative affairs is attended by the making of

enemies. This was the case with Douglas. Franklin Pierce, who had retired from the Senate to practice law in New Hampshire, but who distinguished himself in the Mexican War, was preferred to Douglas in 1852 and Buchanan, who was at the Court of St. James when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, was chosen in preference to him in 1856. As early as 1840 the delegation from Illinois presented the name of Douglas to the national Democratic convention. He was then thirty-seven, the youngest statesman up to that time to whom had fallen such an honor. In 1852 he had ninety-two votes in the convention of his party and in 1856 one hundred and twenty-two. Each time he retired in the interest of harmony and earnestly supported the nominee. When the convention of 1860 approached it was apparent that the Northwest would be for him and a larger following was predicted than for any other man in the Democratic party. The nomination would be acceptable provided he could assume it on principles which he believed to be sound, but he would not be a candidate under any circumstances upon a platform that he could not conscientiously execute. The southern members of the party demanded a platform that should provide that neither Congress nor the Legislature of a territory could impair the constitutional rights of property in slaves therein; that it was the duty of Congress to provide adequate protection to slave property and that the people of a territory could pass on the question of slavery only when they adopted a state constitution. Such a platform Douglas would not stand upon but would insist on the principle of popular sovereignty as he had advocated it.

The convention met at Charleston. It was apparent that the northern and southern members could not agree on a platform. The latter would withdraw if Douglas was nominated and the former if the platform declared for slavery in the territories. Douglas's platform was adopted by a substantial majority, whereupon the convention broke up to meet at Baltimore in June, where Douglas was afterwards nominated. He is the only man of Vermont birth to have received the nomination for the presidency. Before his nomination the southern wing of the party had withdrawn from the convention. They formed a convention and nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for the presidency. The platforms of the two conventions

expressed the respective views of the two factions on the question of slavery. Bell and Everett represented another ticket known as the Constitutional Unionists and Lincoln and Hamlin the Republican ticket.

Douglas resisted the temptation for a time to go on the stump but finally found himself making speeches, especially in the South. It must have been apparent to him that he was not going to win the election. But this did not deter him from a southern trip where he probably hoped to do good for the Union if not for himself. At Norfolk someone in the audience asked him if the southern states would be justified in leaving the Union if Lincoln was elected President, to which he emphatically answered no, declaring in explanation that the election of any man to the presidency of the American people in conformity with the Constitution of the United States would not justify any attempt at dissolving this glorious confederacy. Then they asked him whether if the southern states seceded before an overt act against their constitutional rights would Douglas advise or vindicate resistance to the decision. His answer was that he would do all in his power to aid the government in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistance to them, come from whatever quarter it might. "I tell them No," he said, "never on earth." At Raleigh he declared he would hang every man higher than Haman who would take arms against the Union. He said that as much as he loved his children he did not desire to see them survive this Union. He was opposed to any compromise on the question of his platform; he had fought twenty-seven battles since he entered public life and had never yet traded with nominations or submitted to treachery. He said he did not believe that it was in his interest as a public man to be President at this time, but that he loved the Union and there was no sacrifice on earth that he would not make to preserve it. He told the people of St. Louis that he had come to make an appeal to them in behalf of the Union and for the peace of the country. At Memphis and Mobile he urged the men of the South to stay in the Union. Douglas received more than a million votes in the field that gave Lincoln his election, and though he carried but one state and had a few delegates from another his total vote fell short of that of Lincoln by only about four hundred thousand.

Douglas realized that Lincoln was not well known and that in his own party there were many men who doubted his capacity to rule the nation. He, therefore, made haste to say that the man whom the Republicans had elected was a very able and a very honest man. He took a great interest in Lincoln's welfare during his early days in Washington, laying aside all political asperities and personal prejudices in his desire to save the nation. In the way of legislation it was proposed that a committee of thirteen be appointed, as in 1850, whose first duty should be to restore the Missouri Compromise. This failed. Then an irrevocable constitutional provision was brought forward to banish the slavery question from the halls of Congress and the arena of federal politics. "Are we prepared in our hearts," he said, "for war with out brethren and kindred? I confess I am not." He was ready, he said, to settle the present difficulties for the preservation of the Union as though he had entertained no opinion theretofore on the slavery question. He proposed a new fugitive slave law, but it was not listened to. Kansas was admitted as a free state, just as Douglas believed it should be, and Colorado, Dakota and Nevada were organized as territories with no provisions as to slavery, exactly according to the principle of popular sovereignty. When it is considered that this was done by a Republican administration is it any wonder that Douglas claimed the credit of being right and his opponents wrong in fighting him on this issue? He induced the House to propose an amendment to the constitution denying to Congress the power to interfere in the domestic institutions of any state. He was convinced from this that the Republicans had abandoned here their aggressive policy in the territories and were willing to give guarantees in the states.

As early as February he became satisfied that the prospect of saving the Union by legislation was not bright, and with the absence of any personal pique he determined to see Lincoln to discuss the situation. Three days after Lincoln's arrival at the capitol he called on him and on this and the following day they discussed the critical problems of the hour. He urged the President-elect to immediately call a constitutional convention for an amendment such as he had proposed and in this Senator Seward agreed. This Lincoln did not care to do without further consideration. The amendment limiting

the powers of Congress over the states was, however, afterwards adopted. Douglas persuaded Lincoln to add a paragraph to his inaugural address in which the President stated that he had no objection that an amendment providing that the federal government should never interfere with the domestic institutions of the states should be made express and irrevocable.

At the inaugural Douglas took great pains to place himself at the President's side, both for the purpose of being of any possible assistance to his chief and to assure the people of his friendship and loyalty. Indeed he performed the humble service of holding the President's hat throughout the delivery of the address. He and Mrs. Douglas, a second wife—a southern lady of wonderful beauty and personal charms—bestowed every possible attention upon the Lincoln family at the inaugural ball by displaying many acts of courtesy to them.

On the sixth of March, from the floor of the Senate, Douglas defended the inaugural address, not by throwing himself into the arms of the administration but by unqualified praise of those parts which appealed to him as being for the good of the Union. He rejoiced in the passage in which the President promised to use his best efforts to effect a peaceful solution of the national troubles and a restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections. While declaring himself as being generally opposed to the President's party and policy he declared he was with him in his efforts to preserve the Union.

He was at first reluctant to commit himself on the Fort Sumter situation. In answer to a question by Senator Mason as to what ought to be done if the garrison was starving he said that if the Senator had voted right at the last election he would have been in condition perhaps to have told him authoritatively. He ceased to be optimistic when Sumter was fired upon. It was suggested that he make some public statement of his attitude on the present troubles for its effect on the members of the Democratic party, more than a million of whom had shown their confidence in him by their ballots. A cordial and earnest consultation followed. The President read to him his proclamation calling for 75,000 troops. Douglas told him that he should call for 200,000. When this had been said they moved to a map of the United States and here stood in whispered conference, absence

of resentment and defeated ambition on the part of one, patient teachableness and self-mastery on the part of the other.

Douglas made a public statement announcing the interview with the President and declaring that he was prepared to fully sustain the executive in the exercise of all his constitutional functions to preserve the Union, maintain the government and defend the federal capitol. To his friends he said there could be but two parties—the party of patriots and the party of traitors—and that they belonged to the first.

After this Douglas and the President were in frequent consultations. The former gave valuable advice about bringing troops into Washington. Troubles for the Union cause were brewing in southern Illinois, always of pro-slavery tendencies, and the President advised that the services of Senator Douglas were needed in that quarter and dispatched him thither. This gave rise to a report that he had gone to raise a great army in the Northwest. He was now in the deepest confidencies of the administration and could probably have had a place suitable to his talents and executive ability had he been spared for it. But unhappily fate had not so decreed. His time on earth was to be brief.

He left Washington for his mission to Illinois but missed his train at Bellaire, Ohio. Here he spoke for the Union to the men of Ohio and Virginia on the banks of the great river, urging them as a band of brothers to unite and rescue their government and its capitol and their country from its enemies. Looking out upon the Ohio he exclaimed, "This great valley must never be divided. The Almighty has so arranged the valley and the plain and the watercourse as to show that this valley in all time shall remain one and indivisible." This speech bore immediate fruit for within thirty days the Union men had organized and begun the campaign which brought West Virginia into the Union. At Columbus he was called from his room at night to speak a parting word to the boys who were to go to the front and as his deep voice sounded forth a message to them a solemn amen arose from the lips of his listeners. His first speech in his own state was made at Springfield. It seemed important that this should be a telling blow for the Union cause. Senator Collum—then the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Illinois—describes how his audience succumbed to the magic of his eloquence and the

irresistible logic of his brilliant mind. At a dramatic point during its delivery the Stars and Stripes were brought in, when Douglas exclaimed, his voice raised to a high pitch and carrying to the remotest listener, "When hostile armies—when hostile armies are marching, under new and odious banners against the government of our country, the shortest way to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparation for war. . . . It is a war of defence of the government which we have inherited as a priceless legacy from our patriotic fathers, in defence of those great rights of freedom of trade, commerce, transit and intercourse from the center to the circumference of our great continent. May we so conduct the war, if a collision must come that we will stand justified in the eyes of Him who knows our hearts and who will justify our every act. . . . There is no path of ambition open to me in a divided country . . . but I believe in my conscience that it is a duty that we owe to ourselves and our children and to our God, to protect the government and that flag from every assailant, be he who he may."

At Chicago he spoke at the Wigwam—filled now as when Lincoln was nominated the year before with ten thousand people. There is a greatness about the occasion that is pathetic. The place is one that saw the organization completed which placed his rival for the presidency in nomination. It heard the patriotic resolutions of the successful party in the campaign of 1860. It resounded with the oratory of the great chieftains of the political organization that had raised Lincoln to the presidency and had sent Douglas to defeat. To such a place and to an audience made up of men who were in considerable part there the year before Douglas had come, a defeated candidate in a national election for an office to which he had aspired with honorable ambition, a partisan in violent opposition to the creeds of the successful party, he had come as a patriot at the bidding of his rival to lend his gifted voice and powerful influence to the cause of the Union. Does this leave any doubt about the greatness and patriotism of Stephen A. Douglas? Again in an eloquent address he urged his countrymen to stand by the Union and to defend the flag. "Arms have been raised," he said, "war is levied . . . there are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war,


only patriots or traitors." And then thinking no doubt of friends and family ties in the South, he said, "But we must remember certain restraints on our action even in time of war. We are a Christian people and the war must be prosecuted in a manner recognized by Christian nations. We must not violate constitutional rights. The innocent must not suffer nor women and children be victims."

Exhausted from the efforts and anxieties which he had lately experienced he was overcome with an illness which lingered for several weeks and ended in a delirium, during which his thoughts were still of his country and its preservation from its enemies. Once he was heard to exclaim, "Telegraph to the President and let the column move on." On the return of consciousness at the last, his wife bent over him and asked him if there was any message he wished to send to his sons. He whispered, "Tell them to obey the laws and support the Constitution of the United States." These were his last words.

With a pomp befitting an emperor the great statesman was buried beside Lake Michigan. The spot is close by the University which he founded. It is beside the central highway which was created by his supreme effort. It is in the midst of the imperial City of Chicago which loved him and upon which he reflected so much glory. Here to the requiem of the beating waves it is well that he should sleep. Above the fitting spot, tall and imposing and crowned by the statue of the orator, statesman and patriot, stands the column erected by the state of his adoption to remind his own and succeeding generations what manner of man he was. And we of his native state on the centenary of his birth and fifty-two years after his death in such a blaze of glory do well to honor his memory. His great talents command our admiration. His services for his country's expansion and development merit our respect and praise. If mistakes were made, let us attribute these to a broad, though erring statesmanship, and not to selfish ambition. And whatever faults may have been his and whatever prejudices may have existed, let these be forgotten in the thought that Stephen A. Douglas stood side by side and hand in hand with Abraham Lincoln, as long as life was spared to him, in defence of the American Union.

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